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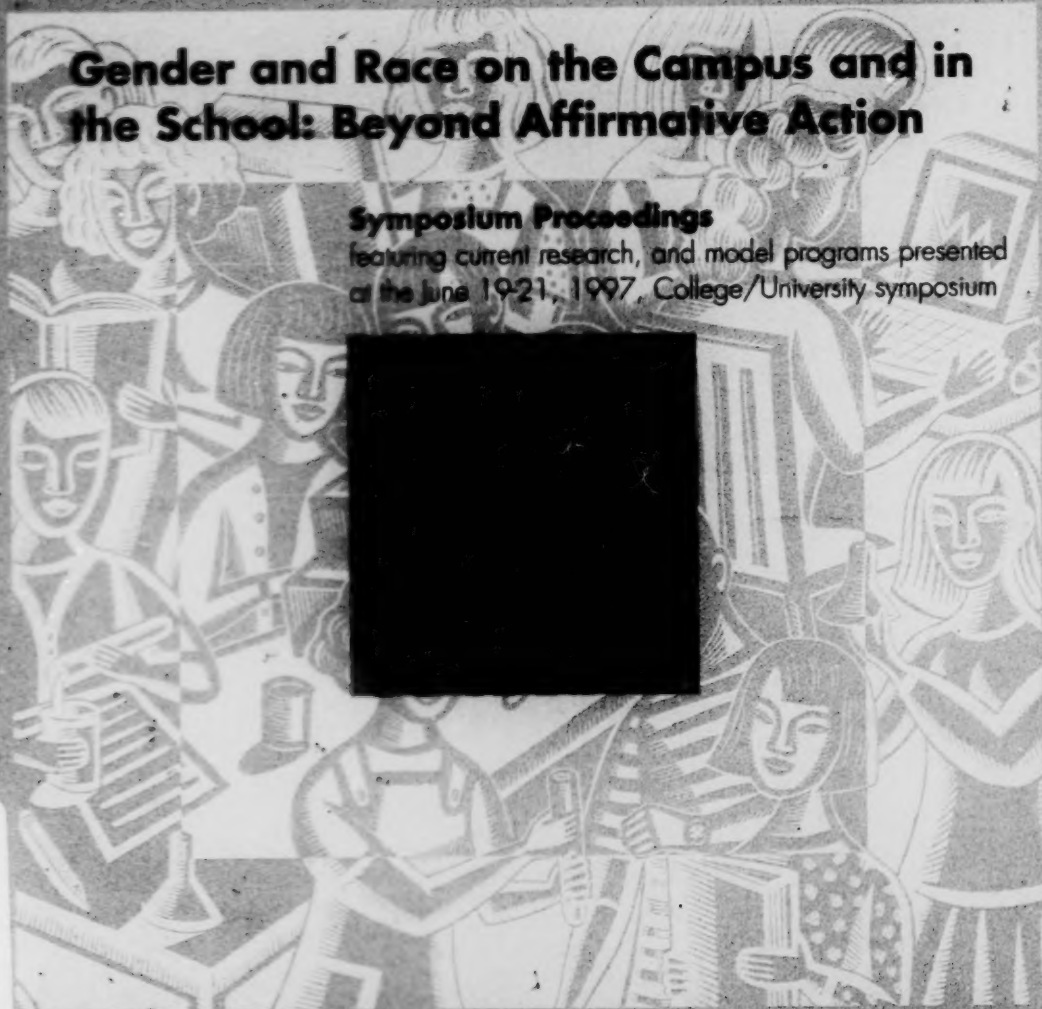
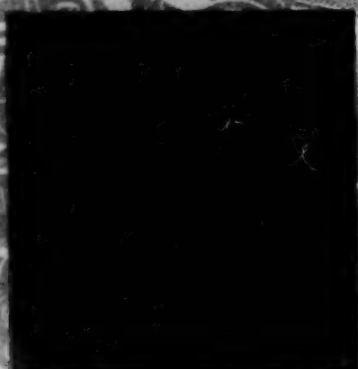
ABSTRACT

These symposium proceedings on gender and race in education explore current research on equity and examine successful initiatives and model programs. The 41 papers are organized in eight sections titled: "Shifting the Paradigm"; "Model Programs"; "Faculty Diversity and Development"; "Curriculum and Teaching Methods"; "Student Attitudes and Achievement"; "Teacher Education"; "Student Self-Image and Success in Grades K-12"; and "Organizational Perspectives". Paper topics include: equal educational opportunity; multiculturalism; monocultures; videotaped interviews as tools for exploring gender and race; combating campus prejudice; reentry students; gender equity; sexual harassment of faculty; race, gender, and queer theory; identity and cultural diversity; student perceptions of classroom climate; student attitudes about affirmative action and antidiscrimination policies; the gender gap for women in higher education; strategies to enhance persistence in female graduate students; African American perceptions of mathematics; progressive education and feminist pedagogy; inclusion; gender equity in the elementary classroom; preservice teacher attitudes about gender-equitable teaching methods; multicultural perspectives in teacher education; academic success of girls in mathematics and science; gender and racial influences on child behavior; legal standards for judging peer sexual harassment in primary and secondary schools; the culture of women's sports; the impact of Title IX; the "Leadership Institute," model program; and the Wellesley centers for women. (Individual papers contain references). (CH)

Gender and Race on the Campus and in the School: Beyond Affirmative Action

Symposium Proceedings

featuring current research, and model programs presented at the June 19-21, 1997, College/University symposium



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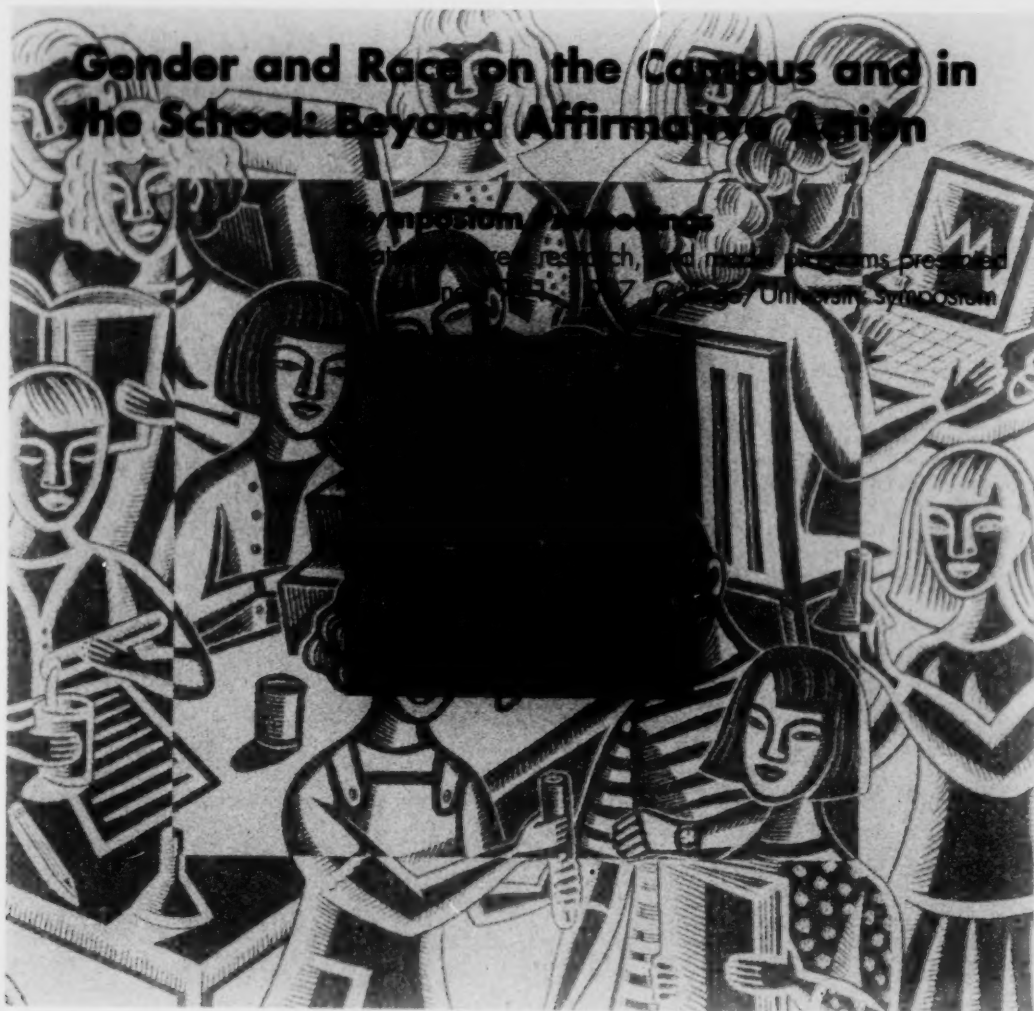
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In principle and in practice, AAUW values and seeks a diverse membership. There shall be no
barriers to full participation in this organization on the basis of gender, race, creed, age, sexual
orientation, national origin, or disability.





Gender and Race on the Campus and in The School: Beyond Affirmative Action

Symposium Proceedings

with essays, research, and media programs presented
at the 1997 University Symposium

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Foreword



Gathering the best minds in higher education for a collective inquiry into one of today's most nettlesome and provocative subjects—the treatment of race and gender on campus—is no small undertaking. But small thinking is not what the discussion requires, as the nation's rapidly changing demographics force a re-examination of the entire scope of student experience, from grade school to graduate school.

Discovering the American Association of University Women behind this undertaking should come as no surprise to anyone familiar with the organization and its mission of education and equity for women and girls. Again and again in its more than 100-year history, AAUW has taken bold action in support of equal access to higher education, societal rights, and intellectual freedom. In publishing these proceedings and sponsoring this vital inquiry, the American Association of University Women confirms its historic commitment to learning at the highest level that individuals—all individuals—desire to attain.

More than a century ago, AAUW began in an effort to dispel the myth that higher education posed a danger to women's health. Today, with women earning 55 percent of all undergraduate degrees and nearly 40 percent of all doctoral degrees, AAUW's higher education focus has shifted but not lessened.

Why the continued need for campus advocacy? Unfortunately, the numbers above don't tell the whole story. In the physical sciences and mathematics, women still lag behind men, earning about a third of bachelor's degrees; in engineering, women account for only 16 percent of bachelor's degrees earned. At the master's and doctor's degree levels, the percentages drop still further, with a corresponding effect on women's employment and salaries in those fields. For women of color, the statistics are grimmer yet.

Women's underrepresentation on college faculties, where they hold less than a third of all positions, is also cause for concern, as is their virtual exclusion from top college administrative posts. Of equal concern is widespread sexual harassment on campus that derails women's professional careers and prevents their advancement.

Here is what AAUW is doing to change this picture:

Ensuring the continuation of affirmative action programs in university hiring and admissions policies remains a top priority. As I write, AAUW is fighting efforts in Congress to bar colleges from considering applicants' race and gender, and is urging other concerned groups and individuals nationwide to do the same. On campus, AAUW is building its college communications network that allows institutions of higher learning to better address issues and conditions of equity for women.

AAUW is also active at the individual level. Each year, more than \$2.7 million in grants from the AAUW Educational Foundation help women, many from underrepresented groups, earn advanced degrees and pursue their chosen careers. To date, more than 6,800 women have benefited from these funds.

On another front, the AAUW Legal Advocacy Fund fights sex discrimination on campus by offering legal support to women faculty, staff, and students who have been subject to sex-based mistreatment.

Through its research on young women and its advocacy work, AAUW looks forward to strengthening its ties to higher education in the years ahead. Scholarship and intellectual freedom, we believe, is the lifeblood of a progressive democratic society. It is both our pleasure and responsibility to engage it here on one of the most pressing questions of our day.

Janice Weinman
Executive Director, AAUW
October 1997

Introduction



We are pleased to offer the proceedings from the third biennial AAUW College/University Symposium, "Gender and Race on the Campus and in the School: Beyond Affirmative Action." The symposium was held in Anaheim, California, on June 19-21, 1997, in conjunction with the AAUW national convention. Researchers, educators, and advocates from across the country gathered to explore current research on equity, to examine successful initiatives and model programs, to exchange ideas with other organizations who share AAUW's vision and aspirations for equity, and to be inspired by leaders and activists who turn those aspirations into reality.

Presenters ranged in experience and reputation from undergraduate students to university presidents and nationally recognized senior scholars. They represented a broad range of academic disciplines, from teacher education, sociology, and literature to mathematics, engineering, accounting, and others. While the authors have brought the methods of their particular disciplines to bear on the theme of the symposium, they share a common energy and hope for an equitable future for our daughters and sons.

The first two College/University Symposia (1993 and 1995) explored equity through the single lens of gender. As often happens, that conversation fostered the realization of the need to examine other complexities that impact gender. The broadened theme for the 1997 symposium reflects AAUW's commitment to diversity and its history of advocacy for strategies—including affirmative action—that remedy past discrimination, remove barriers, and develop supportive systems to enable and empower all students and faculty to achieve their fullest potential.

The symposia open dialogue and foster collaboration between AAUW and the academic community on issues of mutual interest. We hope that this volume of proceedings from the 1997 symposium will sustain and expand the dialogue on the intersection of race and gender as it impacts educational equity.

Linda S. Freed
Carol Williams
Symposium co-chairs
October 1997

Editor's Note



Papers included in this volume are reprinted as submitted by their respective authors. The papers have been reformatted to create a uniform appearance, but have not been edited for grammar, punctuation, consistency, or style. Views expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent AAUW positions. Authors of the papers likewise assume responsibility for any errors in their work.

Some of the papers are transcriptions or recountings of interactive symposium sessions and capture as best they can the discussions in those sessions.

Symposium planners invited all scholars to submit paper proposals to the symposium. The proposals were screened by peer reviewers before being accepted for presentation at the symposium. All presenters were invited to submit their papers for this volume.



Beyond Equal Educational Opportunity: A Proposal to Dismantle the Master's House

Vivien Ng



Whenever I feel that I am about to succumb to the seductive notion that we have come a long way from the dark ages of pre-Civil Rights, pre-feminist movements, I pinch myself back to reality with an op-ed essay published in the October 19, 1993 edition of *Oklahoma Daily*, the University of Oklahoma student newspaper. The author, A.M.,¹ was a junior at the university when she submitted her response to another student's op-ed piece that defended scholarships for "minority" students. She wrote:

I have but one statement for Tiffani Mims: people like you cause people like me to be racist. Yes, I'll admit it, I'm racist. But ... [it's] your fault. When I was younger ..., I had a lot of black friends ... Racism did not exist in my mind. That is, until I got here ... [H]ad I never encountered people like you, I would never had a problem with "your people." As far as I am concerned, "your people" and "my people" are the "same people." We are Americans, and we ought to start acting like it. As a female, I can tell you that considering the fact that you are not only female, but also black, there is no better place for you on this earth than this "racist, sexist and elitist country" that I love and you so vehemently despise. You will not find another country on this planet that will give you more opportunities to live as a black, as a woman and as a human. If I were you, I would enjoy this "dream" before your hatred turns it into a nightmare. Also, you ought to be ashamed at having to take handouts because of your skin color. I can say this because, as a female, it infuriates me that—for example—I received the same amount of money on an academic scholarship that a male would receive. Yet I did not have to score as well on the ACT, which is what the scholarship is based on ... I'm proud of the fact that I received my scholarship because I'm intelligent, but I'm not proud that I received it partly because I'm female. Like you, I go to school for free ... But unlike you, I earned my money. I'm not getting paid out of charity handouts because of something that happened to my ancestors ... I believe that you are intelligent enough ... to receive academic scholarships. But until you stop receiving handouts from the government as some sort of sick retribution, racism in this country will never get better. It will NEVER go away. Yes, I believe racism exists, but I can also

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say that it is partly your fault. It is your fault because you expect to be compensated for something that didn't happen to you by people who didn't do it. You should try to get scholarships based on your intelligence, and, if not, maybe you should check the classifieds and try to get a job, and a life, after all.³

I read the essay out loud to my Introduction to Women's Studies class at the University of Oklahoma the day it appeared. We were almost two months into the semester and a certain resentment had built up among a significant number of students. When they signed up for the course, they expected a course about "women." To their surprise and dismay, the first writers they read were two Black lesbian feminists, Audre Lorde and Barbara Smith. They had begun to complain, "Why are we reading them? When are we going to talk about women's experience?"

After I finished reading, I looked at my students, at the sea of white, anguished faces. To their credit, those who spoke out against the essay—and many did—did so with passion and conviction. I dared to move on to the scheduled topic for discussion that evening, "identity politics," to prepare them for a meaningful discussion of Gloria Anzaldúa's *Borderlands*³ in the coming weeks. I showed the class one overhead transparency after another, each filled with choice quotes from "classic" feminist works, in order to guide them through a journey to the past, to a naive time when gender could be analyzed in isolation from race and class, and back to the more complex present. I led them to the edge of the Promised Land and ended the lecture with the inspirational "A Black Feminist Statement" by the Combahee River Collective.⁴ I felt great! Just as I was about to leave the classroom, a student came up to me and complained, "Why do we always have to deal with such depressing topics?" I fell from Cloud Nine and landed on earth in one second flat!

No, we have not come a long way. Just last year, a colleague of mine at SUNY-Albany told me that one of the students in her "Racism, Sexism, Classism" class, in response to a discussion about illegal immigration, raised her hand and volunteered the suggestion that illegal "aliens" be arrested, sent back to where they came from and, if they dared to cross the border again, be shot right on the spot. Imagine, a student in a women's studies class saying this and meaning every word of it.

Let me relate another incident. I still remember it as vividly as though it happened just yesterday. It was a crisp autumn day in New York City in 1991. I had just purchased a cashmere overcoat and therefore feeling on top of the world. I was in high spirits as I walked up Second Avenue toward my apartment. In New York, I had learned not to make eye contacts with anyone, but I could not help staring at this elderly woman who was dressed in a drab blue coat, walking slowly toward me. She stopped suddenly in front of the bagel shop with her feet planted apart, stared back at me, and defecated standing up, in full public view. No one else seemed to have noticed.

I was brought right down to earth at that moment. I still think about the indignity the woman suffered so publicly. I still feel the anger that surged through my body that afternoon, my anger at our failure to take care of the basic needs of the poor, the sick, and the elderly in our society. Who was this woman? Someone's mother, sister, daughter, neighbor? In my mind she has become an emblem of the social welfare crisis in this country.

These three incidents are the reference points to which I return whenever I ponder my responsibility as a feminist educator. In a keynote speech given at the 1981 National Women's Studies Association annual conference, Audre Lorde asked her predominantly white audience, "What woman here is so enamoured of her own oppression that she cannot see her heelprint upon another woman's face? What woman's terms of oppression have become precious and necessary to her as a ticket into the fold of the righteous, away from the cold winds of self-scrutiny?"⁵ What will it take for my students to even begin to understand these questions, let alone to answer them? What it takes is for them to recognize their commonality with people whose experiences and oppressions are different from their own. How to achieve this? Audre Lorde shows us what it means to be able to see beyond the tip of our noses:

I am a lesbian woman of Color whose children eat regularly because I work in a university. If their full bellies make me fail to recognize my commonality with a woman of Color whose children do not eat because she cannot find work, or who has no children because her insides are rotted from home abortions and sterilization; if I fail to recognize the lesbian who remains closeted because her homophobic community is her only life support, the woman who chooses silence instead of another death, the woman who is terrified lest my anger trigger the explosion of hers; if I fail to recognize them as other faces of myself, then I am contributing not only to each of their oppressions but also to my own, and the anger which stands between us then must be used for clarity and mutual empowerment, not for evasion by guilt or for further separation. I am not free while any woman is unfree, even when her shackles are very different from my own. And I am not free as long as one person of Color remains chained. Nor is any one of you.⁶

In my opinion, when we talk about affirmative action in higher education, we must go beyond the issue of recruitment and retention, even though this is an important issue. We must ask the question: "What kind of education do we want to give our students?" Virginia Woolf asked a similar question in *Three Guineas*.⁷ Audre Lorde pushed even further: "[T]he master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. They may allow us to temporarily beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change. And this fact is only threatening to those women who still define the master's house as their only source of support."⁸ Paraphrasing Paulo Freire's insight articulated in *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Lorde writes, "[T]he true focus of revolutionary change is never merely the oppressive situation which we seek to escape, but that piece of the oppressor which is planted deep within each of us, and which knows only the oppressors' tactics, the oppressors' relationships."⁹

The challenge for politically-engaged educators is to create a new curriculum and build a new kind of educational institution without using the master's tools, without resorting to and perpetuating the oppressors' tactics. For example, the intention of women's studies cannot be merely to "match" the achievements of Dead White Men, because substituting "woman" for every "man" will not dismantle the master's house. In "Politics of Black Women's Studies," Gloria T. Hull and Barbara Smith describe a trap that women's studies has fallen into:

Women's studies began as a radical response to feminists' realization that knowledge of ourselves has been deliberately kept from us by institutions of patriarchal "learning." Unfortunately, as women's studies has become both more institutionalized and at the same time more precarious within traditional academic structures, the radical life-changing vision of what women's studies can accomplish has constantly been diminished in exchange for acceptance, respectability, and the career advancement of individuals. This trend in women's studies is a trap that Black women's studies cannot afford to fall into.¹⁰

Their prescription for Black women's studies is appropriate for any academic endeavor that seeks to overturn existing structures of hierarchy and exploitation:

Naming and describing our experience are important initial steps, but not alone sufficient to get us where we need to go. A descriptive approach to the lives of Black women, a "great Black women" in history or literature approach, or any traditional male-identified approach will not result in intellectually groundbreaking or politically transforming work. We cannot change our lives by teaching solely about "exceptions" to the ravages of white-male oppression. Only through exploring the experience of supposedly "ordinary" Black women whose "unexceptional" actions enabled us and the race to survive, will we be able to begin to develop an overview and an analytical framework for understanding the lives of Afro-American women. ...

To do the work involved in creating Black women's studies requires not only intellectual intensity, but the deepest courage. Ideally, this is passionate and committed research, writing, and teaching whose purpose is to question everything. Coldly "objective" scholarship that changes nothing is not what we strive for. ... Black women's studies must consider as primary the knowledge that will save Black women's lives.¹¹

The bottom line of women's studies *and* all efforts at changing the curriculum must be the survival of the complex: the reclamation of all our lives and all our voices using all of our colorful languages. We cannot allow ourselves to be tokenized in the master's house, nor can we allow ourselves to tokenize using the master's tools. We cannot give up on A.M., or the student who advocated extreme measures to deal with illegal immigration, and others like them. There is so much demanding our individual and collective discomfort and outrage. We cannot survive without each other. Sweet Honey in the Rock sings, "We all ... everyone of us, have to come home again," and none of us must confuse home with the master's house.

Yes, it is time to think "beyond affirmative action." We must dare to go beyond the modest aims of affirmative action. Achieving educational equity for women and people of color is not enough: it is time to dismantle the master's house!

Endnotes

1. I am using only her initials here to save her from further embarrassment. I hope that, with more enlightened education, she would learn from her mistake and recant her racist views.
2. *Oklahoma Daily* (October 19, 1993).
3. Gloria Anzaldúa. *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1987).
4. The Combahee River Collective was a collective of Black feminists who began meeting in 1974 for the purpose of defining and clarifying Black feminist politics. Their influential "A Black Feminist Statement" has been used as a model for the liberation of other women of color.
5. Audre Lorde, "The Uses of Anger: Women Responding to Racism." In *Sister Outsider* (Freedom, CA: Crossing Press, 1984): 132.
6. *ibid*: 132-33.
7. Virginia Woolf. *Three Guineas* (New York: Harvest/HBJ, 1938).
8. Audre Lorde, "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House." In *Sister Outsider*: 112.
9. Audre Lorde, "Age, Race, Class, and Sex: Women Redefining Difference." In *Sister Outsider*: 123.
10. Gloria T. Hull and Barbara Smith, "Politics of Black Women's Studies." In Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith, ed. *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave: Black Women's Studies* (New York: Feminist Press, 1982): xxi.
11. *Ibid*: xxi-xxv

Failed Multiculturalism and Dreams of a Negotiated Settlement

Randi Gray Kristensen and Helene Shulman Lorenz



Multiculturalism is a concept with many meanings, not all of them consistent or even useful. The following analysis of the difference between what we call strong and weak multiculturalism will be guided more by questions and a sense of incompleteness than a trenchant analysis and guide to where to from here. Both authors are the offspring of various diasporas—specifically European, African, Jewish and Caribbean. We are conscious of our identities as complex, migrant subjectivities, in ongoing negotiation with inner and outer social, historical, and psychological locations.¹ We both work at a predominantly white institution, where our fields—Intercultural Studies and African Diaspora Literatures—explicitly challenge dominant paradigms. In order to do our work, we have to raise questions about a curriculum that privileges the knowledge and power of the dominant subculture, normalizing a point of view which, in general, is white, male, literate, upper class, and heterosexual. We, and many like us, have been invited by the historically privileged to enter the academy precisely because we represent “difference,” an alterity now perceived as useful to the educational project of preparing future generations to participate in the life of a globalized economy. However, the “difference” we represent is also resisted and silenced as strongly as it is invited, and it is at that ambivalent crossroads that we find ourselves. We are thus forced to articulate this crossroads space, and name its possible outcomes, with an eye towards assisting each other in articulating, strategizing and maintaining our commitments in a somewhat hostile and always complex environment. One of the possible roads in such a situation, and, indeed, the one more travelled, leads to what we are calling weak or failed multiculturalism.

Given a diverse environment, involving two or more groups, however they are defined, there are a range of possible interactions. One very useful strategy is to name the various positions these

Randi Gray Kristensen is assistant professor of English, and Helene Shulman Lorenz is visiting assistant professor of intercultural studies at St. Lawrence University, Canton, New York.

different groups have assumed in relation to their cultural contact. There are a number of schema circulating these days, among them those of Trinidadian cultural critic Gordon Rohlehr, who has identified the following types of interaction, drawing on the Trinidadian experience of Afro- and Indo-Trinidadian interaction:

- Option 1. open hostility, characterized by overt violence.
- Option 2. private/covert hostility, characterized by a mixture of public cooperation and private hatred. On the surface, both groups practice limited sharing and cooperation.
- Option 3. negative tolerance, in which the Other exists to serve the Self's purposes. This is a more sophisticated development than Option 2. The ingroup is concerned about the outgroup to the extent that the outgroup is important to the ingroup. Issues affecting the outgroup that do not interest the ingroup are a matter of indifference to the ingroup.
- Option 4. ingroup concern for outgroup well-being.

We are identifying Option 3, negative tolerance, as weak multiculturalism. Here, the other (female, of color, gay or lesbian, international) is acceptable to the extent that their otherness reflects the self's (male, white, heterosexual, Western) capacity for tolerance. That otherness is restricted to exteriorized designations that do not produce discomfort in the self, and require no major paradigm changes. Of course, this can be a two way street. Although from a different location, the traditionally marginalized may also "other" the dominant culture, and tolerate that point of view for reasons of job security, prestige, or advancement.² By weak multiculturalism, we mean a rhetorical, theoretical, exteriorized, and superficial project which prevents transformative encounters. It freezes and essentializes difference by NOT engaging with it, or by satisfying that engagement by an interplay of stereotypes.

Many current university catalogues have statements on harassment that lead to policies of weak multiculturalism. This occurs often, not because the statement is itself flawed, but because beyond the statement, there is no experience with a satisfactory way to engage in discussion of cultural differences. As a result, it is almost impossible to take action to resolve complaints of abuse. Such statements usually read as follows: "All members of the Enormous State University/Small Private College community are valued equally. The office of equity programs/Affirmative Action has the responsibility to ensure that all University activities, programs and practices comply with state and federal laws and regulations regarding equal educational and employment opportunities. University X is committed to multicultural diversity in its faculty, staff, student body and curriculum. The office of equity programs/ Affirmative Action

designs, implements and monitors programs that ensure attracting and retaining a diverse population. Awareness training for students, faculty and staff is designed to eliminate all forms of discrimination. Etc. Students and employees who believe they have been treated unfairly are encouraged to speak confidentially with the special assistant for equity programs."

Such statements assume that if problems have occurred, they are individual problems which should be resolved in private. But what if the problems are caused by a shared and normalized discourse which is racist and/or sexist? Why should people who feel they have been treated unfairly be encouraged to speak confidentially to a special assistant? Is awareness enough to eliminate discrimination? While recognizing that this is the predominant and acceptable rhetoric of multiculturalism, it is weak to the extent that it doesn't address its own necessity, and encourages critique as a personal, confidential matter, and not central to the business of the university. Thus multiculturalism is compartmentalized, reduced to an issue of "awareness," and advanced via confidential, not public, discourse.

Strong multiculturalism, in contrast, insists on the engagement with difference, and locates those differences in historical and local contexts, in a dialogue which can be both liberatory and painful, sometimes simultaneously. We have had better success experimenting with strong multiculturalism in our classrooms than with our colleagues. Student evaluations can range from: "I don't know why we're reading and talking about all these blacks and women; I thought this was a course in American Literature," to "I am so glad we could engage with these topics beyond the usual 'Racism is bad' rhetoric. Now I understand how racism works and is reproduced." Strong multiculturalism has as its aim not tolerance, but change, a move from Rohlehr's "negative tolerance" to Option 4: in-group concern for outgroup well-being.

The rhetoric of the contemporary academy would suggest that we are operating in a context where we might have believed that diversity was here to stay, and that it was reasonable to envision a movement from negative tolerance to strong multiculturalism. In light of court and voter decisions in Texas and California, however, this is not assured, so there is additional pressure to be satisfied with weak multiculturalism as perhaps as much as we can expect at the moment. Yet we find that negative tolerance represents a kind of legalistic accommodation that deprives all of its participants of the richness available from strong multiculturalism. It is as though, in the effort to diminish the dehumanization produced by the exclusion of women and people of color from the academy, all are now invited to participate in that dehumanization. But many of us—the traditionally underrepresented—have entered the academy because we are motivated by suggestions like Peter McLaren's, that as educators:

We need to develop a praxis that gives encouragement to those who, instead of being content with visiting history as curators or custodians of memory, choose to live in the furnace of history where memory is molten and can be bent into the contours of a dream and perhaps even acquire the immanent force of a vision. (McLaren 218)¹

Strong multiculturalism is strong medicine for some. The modern university system has been sustained by what can be viewed as a series of cultural rituals which reproduce a Western mythological system. Through repetitive enactments which reinforce the power of the past over the present, faculty and their students have constructed European and American professionals as universal, historical, rational, and progressive world saviors. This is a self-aggrandizing mythology which works to place the colonizing patriarchal West at the center of world importance. Those who have been marginalized by this system of thought can see "History" as a particular mythology with a universalizing and totalizing claim, a narrative told in the present full of ruptures, silences, and subjugated stories. From this perspective, we need 'histories' or reflexive memories. This would involve a triple consciousness: First, a consciousness that every history is told from a limited perspective in the present (and so cannot be a universal History); Second, that every history is told within a culturally constructed language and frame of reference of which we can only be partly conscious; and Third, that every history is imagined within a specific structure of institutional power and privilege relationships and will function to support or undermine the status quo. Strong multiculturalism demands this triple consciousness which is an enormous challenge to "business as usual" in academic disciplines. Strong multiculturalism by its nature is interdisciplinary. It asks about the culture of environmentalists, the psychology of philosophy, the economics of literature, the gender relations of anthropology, the racial assumptions of biologists. Strong multiculturalism does not exist already made. It constantly evolves in dialogue among transforming and transformed subjects. It must be continually renegotiated as we attempt to build alliances, while recognizing that we are immersed in both inner and outer discourses of oppressor and oppressed.

In order to introduce strong multiculturalism or any other change into an educational system, we have to educate ourselves as educators, question what we have been taught, and relearn our disciplines in dialogue with each other. This means faculty development initiatives, faculty reading and discussion groups, conferences, and perhaps faculty travel. Yet, there are reports from everywhere in the country that such projects have run into brick walls. Often, one feels the situation corresponds to a well-known scenario in child development theory: It has been shown that children do better after a certain age if they have either supportive parents or absolutely unsupportive parents, which will cause them to seek mentorship from other available adults. The worst case

scenario is for those children who have parents who are ambivalent, constantly changing the rules and giving mixed messages.

Many of us are receiving mixed messages in our academic institutions about multiculturalism. We are (hopefully) in the middle of a transformation process in the university system from an institution where most departments are made up entirely of white men to an institution which has openings for women and/or people of color. It is usually the case therefore that it is "junior faculty" who are pressing for institutional change and strong multiculturalism. Those who have brought them into the university system are often under the impression that multiculturalism was accomplished, or could be accomplished, by increasing gender and epidermal diversity. They are sometimes puzzled about why that is not enough. They ask "What else do they want?"

Most faculty development workshops which include diverse faculty soon run into shocking differences of point of view. When we participated in such workshops together, we independently noticed a pattern of what seemed to be avoidance of issues of race and gender. From our positions, there seemed to be an emotional distancing and disengagement from the human suffering involved in globalized dislocations. The faculty discourse seemed willing to allow a permanent and unproblematic consignment of racial "others" to an underclass in the global economy. On one occasion, we tried to intervene with a pedagogy that asked for a personal and bodily relation to the cultures of the Caribbean which we were studying. In a demonstration of the techniques used by Jamaica's Sistren Theatre Collective, faculty members were asked to stand up and move in the room to reggae music with a social message, and then the music was stopped several times to ask about our personal relationships to the Caribbean. Who had been there as a tourist? Who had had a Caribbean co-worker or supervisor? What was our relationship to the people we were planning to "research"? Could we imagine an exchange where we "learned from" them, where instead of seeing them as passive subjects, we could imagine them as actively engaged in theorizing about their own world in ways that were more sophisticated than our own? It was clear that several faculty members were enraged by this attempt at a change of script. When it was over, a dean said privately, "If 'they' (meaning people of color) want to come into 'our' (meaning, one supposes, white or white male) institutions, they will have to learn to do things our way." We suggested, perhaps in an act of professional suicide, that the rules had been made in a white supremacist environment and that now the rules were going to have to change, to be made all over again in an effort to create a healing and transformative discourse.

In many faculty discussions, it is clear that there are institutional myths and rules about multiculturalism which can only be transgressed at the risk of tremendous unpopularity. Though everyone

can accept that there is racism and sexism in American culture, and therefore people who are racist and sexist, there is an unstated rule that these problems are always at a maximum in the environments furthest away from where one is sitting, and decrease in proportion the closer they come to the current discussion. They reach a point of absolute zero at the door of whatever room one is in, so that one could accuse other people on the campus of racist or sexist attitudes, but never, ever, would it be appropriate to consider how our own discourse reproduced sexist and racist relationships. A corollary rule that is even more problematic has to do with we have come to think of as a "totalitarian we". Other groups far away can have internal conflict and dialogue. One can read in texts about difference, alterity, and liminality. Theories about negotiated discourses could be examined and discussed. But we can never do it in the room "we" are in because here there is harmony, congruence, and Sameness, and anyone who says there is Difference is breaking unspoken rules. So faculty who are African-American or Native American, Jewish or Buddhist, or from other identity groups whose presence is being erased often sit in rooms where people say things like "we are all comfortable here" or "we are all WASPS here" or even "we are all white here" and try to make choices. If we are silent, it reinforces the "totalitarian we." If we challenge, we risk being called "militant" or "uncollegial" or "judgmental" or even "fascist".

On many campuses, all issues of racial harassment and rape have to be quietly managed as personal issues, and suggesting that there is a problem of campus culture that has to be addressed is totally out of bounds. At one point, we participated in a multicultural faculty and student committee which wrote a letter to the campus newspaper after fraternity men were reported to be yelling white supremacist slogans at African-Americans on campus. Other faculty members were furious when this letter appeared and members of the committee were called "subversives" and "white liberal troublemakers" even though the committee was not all white.

In many situations, faculty of color in predominantly white institutions try to address these problems by writing position papers on them when asked to give faculty development reports. One historian summed up the problem by saying, "They want to appropriate our culture, by reading books or eating at Taco Bell, but it is inconvenient for them to have to deal with the people who produced this culture." Several faculty of color wrote after a seminar on American cultural pluralism that there was a problem of voyeurism and objectification. They wrote: "In other words, attention to Blackness and Native-Americanness without an accompanying attention to Whiteness continues to render Whiteness powerfully invisible, and to exoticize Blackness and Native-Americanness, promoting the possibility of 'American pluralism' as a voyeuristic enterprise." An African-American philosopher wrote, after visiting the campus for a year, that there was "a lack of discursive space that is sufficiently nurturing" for faculty of color. The discussion in faculty devel-

opment groups, she thought "does not rise beyond a certain level which takes for granted certain pertinent issues and concerns regarding race, politics, and culture, etc. The discussions in these settings are often of what some would consider basic issues that a graduate student who has already spent her/his career on issues of culture would have already discovered."

Though these papers are often circulated among the faculty, there is rarely a discussion of the points raised, since this would involve engagement with a discourse of difference which is being avoided and erased. For those faculty not interested in multiculturalism at all, the discussion is rejected through an accusation that such a process would be "political," as if the normalized discourse on the campus is not. For those who are interested in what we have defined as weak multiculturalism, the discussion is rejected through an accusation that such a process would be "therapy" and not appropriate for faculty. "We" have always been happy "reading texts" and that is what faculty ought to do and wants to do. It appears, then, that differences are subsumed into our professional relationship as professors, a position with its own codes and sanctions, primary among them a sort of abstract rationality that can be read as coldness, indifference, and objectification of the subject of study.

When we have attempted to raise concerns about the erasure of difference, the response has been deafening silence and more erasure. In one workshop, a recently tenured Native American faculty member spoke up and said that he could not believe that everyone was ignoring the points about erasure, absence and silencing that had been brought up. After an uncomfortable moment of silence, people chose their responses:

- continued silence
- deafness (we didn't hear anything)
- rules of order (it didn't respond to the assignment)
- peripheral questioning (I didn't want to respond because she quoted anonymously)
- confusion (I didn't know if any of those people were in the room)
- erasure (we are all white, aren't we?)
- repair of the "we" (the traditionally privileged/comfortable are ensured that the apocalypse has not occurred and they are not responsible for the apparent outburst of the marginalized)

This has had the following results at many institutions:

1. Separation of faculty of color from the institution or from the working life of the institution.
2. The dissolution of initiatives towards strong multiculturalism. Because the work doesn't fully engage, no positive outcomes are visible, so the work is abandoned.
3. Internationalization/multiculturalism is something that happens elsewhere.

4. Segregation by identity/politics. Faculty groups retreat into comfort zones with minimum interaction.
5. Self-essentializing (My white identity won't permit me to change; it's a personal failure.)
6. Restoration of the totalitarian "we" through narratives of individualism. (Individuals who leave were unhappy for personal reasons; the school system wasn't good to their children, a relationship didn't work, they're just not happy people and probably wouldn't get along anywhere they went. Those people of color who remain are asked to explain the departed one's motives.)
7. Multiplication of roles for people of color. (informal advising of students and colleagues, committee overload, promotion of the known insider vs. national searches for additional people of color.)
8. Outright attack. (demonization, avoidance, name-calling, setting-up, demoralization and ostracism of allies, internalized oppression and conflict.)
9. The institution of double-bind scenarios. (One person is criticized for causing discord by bringing up troublesome issues and the other is criticized for remaining silent and not bringing up the very same troublesome issue.)

We have told a lot of stories of failed efforts at multiculturalism. We wish we could affirm what we believed not long ago, that strong multiculturalism is inevitable, that it is the wave of the future, and this is just a difficult transition period. At the moment, however, we are not comfortable with a triumphalist myth. There is a scene from the Egyptian Book of the Dead where the soul of the spiritual pilgrim is placed on a scale and weighed against a feather. We imagine that building the kind of egalitarian society that many of us want and need will take millions of feathers—constant small acts of courage, healing, voicing, transforming, and rebuilding, and that in the end it may be a close call.

We participated in one faculty group that agreed to try to change the rules of discourse. We decide to focus on difference in the room, to accept it, and attempt to embrace it. We realized that in order to do so we would need to build trust in the group and spent several weeks on community building and identity exercises when we began. Recognizing the intellectual imperialism of binary categories which privileged thought over feeling, conformity over dissent, mind over body, we tried to make space for a wide range of shadow issues that are often left out of faculty discussions—particularly feelings of discomfort, inferiority, inadequacy, and not belonging. We realized that in the old system some people were always uncomfortable, while others were mostly comfortable, and that in the new system we were going to have to be willing to share discomfort so that the same people didn't have to feel it all the time. When we began to discuss cultural appropriation, some women felt that the talk would paralyze them, that they would no longer be

sure what was right and allowable. They would have to rethink what they were doing as they were doing it. Others suggested that Western academics had felt so much permission to take, probe, dissect, and analyze in the past that a period of paralysis might be a good thing. We also made some space for creative projects, potluck dinners, and movement. We assumed that part of the work was to understand our own social locations in regard to the readings we did, and we tried to explore both self-imposed and external boundaries on what we could speak about. When the group was asked to report on what we had done at the faculty retreat, we decided to create an installation of writing and art work members had done along with a group performance of various texts layered into a theater piece. Group members created clear plastic "garbage bags" which were placed on the floor and filled with scraps of paper which had written on them the names of parts of self and culture which group members felt were thrown away in regular university faculty reading groups. Taped readings were played in the background.

In the subsequent discussion, participants in the reading group took turns answering questions, carefully and consciously deploying the pronoun "we." A typical statement would open, "Other members of the group might have other perceptions of this, but we were attempting to do X," or "We agreed that," with a degree of confidence that in fact a conscious agreement had been reached. One of the two men who participated in the group was asked what his experience had been, and he said that "he had learned the work of listening." It was evident that the members of the group had identified their individual agendas for participation, and had built common ground out of those agendas, choosing to postpone some in order to more fully engage with others, and to slow down the work when necessary to maintain and deepen that negotiated "we."

Most people experienced the space which opened in the group as liberatory, but it is too soon to tell whether it will have any long term affect on campus culture. It is obvious that the development of the negotiated "we" requires many changes in traditional methods, and above all a willingness to attempt those changes, a desire to move from being "custodians of the past" to "participants in history." Our students often see these issues more clearly. Recently, an undergraduate student, Alison Hastings, wrote:

Boundaries between groups of people and individuals are heaped by the trash of ignorance, wired by history, thicketed with hate and surrounded by silence. The problem is that when the silence is broken there exists a race privilege of what to hear and what not to hear. It should be an individual's moral responsibility to be aware of the voices constrained by racial differences and attempt to unfix the rigid mental blockade within their head. Suffice to say this would be a severe adjustment in our Eurocentric world. Perhaps if we can reconstruct relations in a moderate manner we can build upon a foundation of good intentions. True understanding will only come from education, yet that too can often be resisted.

Many of us engaged in the kind of education this student is calling for are finding ourselves resisted, and are seeking strategic locations from which to do our work. Some, like Gloria Anzaldúa, work at the margins of the academy, returning to give talks and workshops on strong multiculturalism and to say what those within the institution cannot say without fear of penalty. In a way, she is practicing *grand marronage*, reminiscent of those self-emancipated Africans who left the plantation to form newly-created communities of resistance and hybrid culture, returning to harass the planters and encourage the enslaved. Others are carving out spaces, like the reading group described above, that are a form of *petit marronage*, the capture of small plots for self-sustenance and the practice of liberation. Yet others are participating in a waiting game, expecting that tenure will bring freedom. And many, as described by the student quoted above, "tend to isolate ourselves with similar people. Thus by confining ourselves we are unable to communicate sentiments and in turn we are left with resignation, resentment, indifference and conflict." Identifying weak multiculturalism as one of the sources of that "resignation, resentment, indifference and conflict" enables us to envision a strong multiculturalism that can challenge the limits of our present paradigm and offer us hope, whatever our present location, of a negotiated and liberatory settlement.

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Endnotes

1. See Carole Boyce-Davies, among others: *Black Women, Writing and Identity: Migrations of the subject*. London and New York: Routledge, 1994.
2. Beverly Tatum's work on racial identity development has been useful theoretically and pedagogically for better understanding classroom dynamics as multicultural work moves from weak to strong, and the many stages where that work can become stalled or frozen. The characterization of "stages" in no way suggests that this is a strictly linear movement. Rather, a particular stage can be returned to recursively or situationally or become a long-term plateau. Tatum, Beverly Daniel. "Talking about Race, Learning about Racism: The Application of Racial Identity Development Theory in the Classroom." *Harvard Educational Review* 62:1 (Spring 1992) 1-24.
3. Among texts informing this discussion are: Freire, Paulo, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Continuum, 1986; Giroux, Henry A., *Border Crossings: Cultural Workers and the Politics of Education*. New York: Routledge, 1992; Giroux, Henry A. and Peter McLaren, eds., *Between Borders: Pedagogy and the Politics of Cultural Studies*. New York: Routledge, 1994; hooks, bell, *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom*. New York: Routledge, 1994.

The Shattered Lens: Revisioning the End of Monocultures

Helene Shulman Lorenz



There is a Buddhist meditation instruction which says, "Leave your birthplace." Here is a suggestion that one might voluntarily step outside of a conventional social framework—one's own indigenous paradigm—because interesting new ways of being and new types of knowing might emerge from the culture shock which followed. Teaching, learning and knowing all require a kind of lens, a slowly evolving focusing device or schemata which allows us to sort out what and how to know, and how to differentiate truth from falsehood. Without such schemata, discourse could not be organized. It is normally the case that such schemata are taken for granted as foundational, and therefore are invisible until starkly challenged. When an indigenous paradigm is challenged for the first time, people sometimes can become resistant, defensive, and angry. It is only when the lens is shattered through forced encounter with very different points of view, when its wholeness begins to fragment into multiple perspectives, that the lens becomes visible as a filter or focusing device affecting our construction of reality. Then a new attitude can develop in which encounters become interesting exactly because they illuminate difference and make conscious evolution possible. In this paper, I will discuss three different educational environments in which this phenomenon of shattering lenses occurs. In two of them, the experience has been acutely painful and problematic. In a third, there is a hope that the encounters could be creative, joyful, empowering, and transformative.

The first learning environment occurs when people who experience biculturalism try to participate in monocultural institutions. In the United States until recently, most of the people who experienced biculturalism were immigrants, people of color, and/or women. Many emerged from oppressive colonial or neo-colonial situations. For several hundred years there has been a literature which expressed the difficulties of negotiating the space between dominant Eurocentric

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mainstream institutions and local communities of memory as well as between patriarchal institutions and women's lives. Often in this experience, the child is raised in a community with a structure of family, ethical, and religious values which have been partly marginalized and erased by a dominant hegemonic culture. The child then attends school where everything conspires to write the home culture as inferior, alien, or backward in regard to a Western "universal" norm. Two schemata develop side by side in the bicultural child, often becoming a hierarchy of inner knowing where what is closest to the heart is constantly being judged by an inner critic. The experience of colonization and dominance is then recreated within the personality in a process of internal colonization. Analyzing this problem in the French Caribbean, Bernabé, Chamoiseau, and Confiant wrote in *Eloge de la Créolité*: "We are fundamentally stricken with exteriority. This from a long time ago to the present day. We have seen the world through the filter of Western values, and our foundation was 'exoticized' by the French vision we had to adopt. It is a terrible condition to perceive one's interior architecture, one's world, the instants of one's days, one's own values, with the eyes of the other."¹

Chicana writer Gloria Anzaldúa expresses a similar problematic experienced by women of color within the United States: "Cradled in one culture, sandwiched between two cultures, straddling all three cultures and their value systems, *la mestiza* undergoes a struggle of flesh, a struggle of borders, an inner war. Like all people, we perceive the version of reality that our culture communicates. Like others having or living in more than one culture, we get multiple, often opposing messages. The coming together of two self-consistent but habitually incompatible frames of reference causes *au choque*, a cultural collision."²

A second learning environment occurs when unconsciously monocultural personalities encounter multicultural perspectives for the first time. Recently Caribbean, Afro-American, Asian, Native American and Latino writers have begun to suggest that their communities were merely the first to experience what will now become a very widespread phenomenon due to economic globalization and the effects of structural adjustment. Today, many people in the United States leave their birthplaces to look for work. The monocultural "lens" through which they learned to focus the social construction of their experience is likely to be shattered by coming into contact with many other ethnic and racial subcultures that see things differently. There are dozens of major cities in the United States now where Euro-Americans may find themselves in a minority position. Chicano performance artist Guillermo Gomez-Pena sees it this way: "Despite the great cultural mirage sponsored by the people in power, everywhere we look, we find pluralism, crisis, and non-synchronicity. The so-called dominant culture is no longer dominant. Dominant culture is a meta-reality that only exists in the virtual space of the

mainstream media and in the ideologically and aesthetically controlled spaces of monocultural institutions. Today, if there is a dominant culture, it is border culture. And those who still haven't crossed a border will do it very soon. All Americans (from the vast continent of America) were, are, or will be border crossers."³

University disciplines in the United States are currently in a state of uneven development with regard to monoculture and border crossings. Many departments still teach within Eurocentric, racist, and patriarchal paradigms which have not yet met the challenge to include multicultural points of view in their curriculum. That means many white students continue to arrive in our classes who have never had the type of experience which shatters cultural lenses. It is still possible in some communities to graduate high school and go through several years of college without ever being asked to read texts by people of color, or texts which challenge white supremacy or white privilege.

This year I began teaching an experimental course called Introduction to Intercultural Studies in a predominantly white college. With the help of a group of colleagues from several disciplines in the humanities and social sciences, working together in a curriculum committee, we tried to imagine an alternative educational track which could teach border culture. We designed the introductory course to raise issues of social and personal identity, power, and privilege in the United States in a post-colonial context of globalization. I quickly discovered, however, that many of our students had learned almost nothing about colonization, slavery, and liberation movements so that there was a big foundational gap. Next year, we have planned a second semester course which would cover colonization, neo-colonialism, and globalization in depth. We are currently working on a third course which would be on methodology, and focus on the cultural construction of knowledges.

When I began the introductory course, I did not realize what a challenge I was presenting to my students. Since my ideas had developed in the framework of the women's movement, and I am a psychologist, it seemed natural to me that we needed to work on understanding our own social locations within the social structures we examined in class. That meant a pedagogy which focused on dialogue, self-exploration, and group processes. Several white male students dropped the class immediately when they found out the class wouldn't consist of lecture, memorization, and exams. I expected my students to speak and participate in almost every class and spent dozens of hours designing activities and discussion formats which would make that possible. Much later, at a campus forum, I heard a student say "Everyone knows that students rarely speak in class here." and I realized how far my assumptions were from the dominant culture.

Not only did I ask them to learn in a way which seemed unfamiliar, I apparently presented content that was shockingly new for many students, particularly white students. Students of color made up about a third of each of the classes I have taught, and most of them were aware of some of the problems the course presented. Many were really happy to learn a theoretical language in which they could begin to discuss issues they had been struggling with for years. An African exchange student wrote; "Before I took this course, I did not know what orientalism and occidentalism were, yet I have been acting them out every day of my life." A Native-American student was delighted to find course materials which expressed her own struggles with identity. She wrote: "I think that one of the most interesting readings we did was the first poem we read at the beginning of the semester. It was a poem about how I felt and how some of my friends expressed they felt. The poem just put my thoughts down on paper in a different way than I thought."

For some of the white students, however, particularly those who came from all white schools and communities, the class seemed to create a period of extreme stress from about the 4th to the 10th week. During this time we discussed Peggy McIntosh's article which suggests that Whites in America enter the world with an unearned knapsack of privileges and Ron Takaki's image of being presented with a history from which you have been erased, like looking in a mirror and seeing no one there. We saw the film "Freedom on My Mind" about the civil rights movement; and two ten minute video pieces from the TV show "Frontline" which followed with a hidden camera first a white man and a black man, then a white man and a white woman, as they interviewed for jobs, tried to buy cars, and looked at apartments. These films showed very clear patterns of discrimination which were terribly upsetting to the students emotionally, and which seemed to shatter the myth of American equality of opportunity which they had been taught. A white woman from a small southern New England town wrote: "It is sometimes hard to realize that everything we read in the books, and all the stories we are told are from a certain perspective." Another wrote: "Also, not just history, but almost every subject or topic that can be discussed has ethnocentrism in it ..."

At first some students began to develop the kind of personality defenses one often sees in therapy, where the source of the problem is projected outward to an attacking "other". One student from Maine, R., wrote in a journal entry: "I have been very interested lately in all this talk of white male dominance and privilege. It seems that among the feminists and many minorities, white American males are getting a pretty bad reputation. It is almost as if the feminists and minorities are turning around and treating males in the way that they have been treated, so that they are not actually serving justice, but their own personal revenge. While I think this severe turning of tables is necessary and predictable, I worry where it will leave me, and what reputation it will afford me."

Our term paper for the class consisted of choosing a subgroup on campus and interviewing ten members on how they perceived and managed race and gender relations on campus. The students then returned to class, analyzed their interviews, and wrote a comparative analysis. The project was a kind of hybrid form of research, part interventionist dialogue, part participant observation, part self-analysis, part sociological survey. Its goal was not to be "scientific" (nor to be unscientific) but to set in motion a process which might then be discussed from multiple perspectives. R. decided to interview white male faculty and emerged from the class project with a shattered lens. Most of the men he spoke with had no interest at all in issues of race and gender he was raising, and seemed oblivious to the problems involved. He recognized the defenses he had been using and thought a lot about what it all meant. Later he wrote: "Before taking this class I had put myself in no categories. Having taken this class which deals with why people are put into categories, I have been confronted with my white, male, American aspects which entails quite a bit. Before I did not identify myself with any group. I was just another human being. I'm not sure I like being made aware of my physical identity. As one who has not been judgmental of people in relation to color or sex, I feel I am more likely to be so now that I have been made more aware. It is roughly equivalent to losing the innocence of childhood. It is hard to decide whether childhood or adulthood is better, and so it is the case of my new awareness." On the last day of class, the same student, who got an A in the class, and later recommended it to several friends, made the following analysis: "This was not my favorite class because it was very painful; but it was the class in which I learned the most."

I had not realized that the course might lead in some students to an abyss of feelings of guilt, despair, and confusion. The second time I taught it, I spent a lot of time talking about cultural resistance, and what bell hooks calls "teaching to transgress" and, from Freire, "becoming a subject rather than an object of history." I stressed that we are not responsible for things that happened before we were born or while we were children. I talked about and showed examples of people building coalitions and alliances to work on issues of social justice. I suggested that every moment of every day for the rest of their lives they would have the opportunity to either normalize and reinforce the power and privilege assignments of the status quo or else to find their own voices and to challenge or recreate what they found in the world. Students of color in the class said again and again that was most damaging to them was silence and erasure, that they needed and wanted to discuss racial and cultural issues with white students, and to renegotiate the dominant culture. Women in the course told the men that discussions of gender roles was not about bashing men, but about liberating both women and men from oppressive traditions and stereotypes. In time, a new and more open level of discussion began.

What I had hoped for as an outcome was a new level of reflexivity as a result of the shattering of lenses. Reflexivity as I understand it is the awareness that all knowing is an evolving knowing from some place, from a given body in a given society in an inherited status role and so only one perspective on a multifaceted truth. Reflexivity understands subjectivity as in relation to others and in dialogue with others and as developing out of a many-voiced inner experience. Reflexivity attempts to get in between the hierarchical opposites of modern European philosophy which constructs self as mind or agency as autonomous, universal, worldly, strong and masculine (as in "hard" sciences, "rigorous" argument, "penetrating" analysis) and the racial or gendered other as body or victim, that is, as passive, local, innocent, infantilized, and feminine. This Eurocentric colonial schemata creates a kind of imperialism of thought in which important but unwanted shadow parts of one's own personality and of the body politic are "disappeared," exactly as political activists have been regularly disappeared in government counterinsurgency strategies. The alternative is to see self and other, mind and body, dominant and subjugated histories discursively, involved together in a dialogue of world creation.

Indian psychologist Ashis Nandy suggests that a world divided into hierarchical opposites is even more dehumanizing for oppressors than for the oppressed. Oppressors must dissociate themselves from the suffering of the oppressed, and by doing this deaden their own feeling function which then has effects on all of their human relationships, including self-understanding. He writes: "They could not successfully rule a continent-sized polity while believing themselves to be moral cripples. They had to build bulwarks against a possible sense of guilt . . ." For Nandy, the oppressed represent a "higher-order cognition" because they continue to understand their oppressors as complex multifaceted human selves. According to Nandy, "Ultimately, modern oppression, as opposed to traditional oppression, is not an encounter between the self and the enemy, the rulers and the ruled, or the gods and the demons. It is a battle between a dehumanized self and the objectified enemy, the technologized bureaucrat and his reified victim, pseudo-rulers and their fearsome other selves projected on to their 'subjects' . . . The victors are ultimately shown to be camouflaged victims, at an advanced stage of psychosocial decay."⁴ In the name of control, achievement, competition, and productivity this type of schemata sacrifices nuances of doubt, guilt, ambiguity, inner and outer heterogeneity, and often feeling relatedness. It can cause a theoretical compartmentalization between consciousness and social location, so that "they know not what they do."

This term, there was a white male student in my class struggling with this material who had lived all of his life in a small town twenty miles from the Akwasasne reservation, but knew no Native Americans until he came to college. After a lot of inner turmoil and resistance, he decided to do

his term paper by interviewing Native Americans on campus. After many weeks of quiet work, he came up with some steps toward a reflexive analysis of which this is an excerpt:

"Being a white male on this campus, personally I am content with the way I am treated by students, as well as faculty. But knowing now that there are groups like the Native American students that feel out of place here really bothers me. Before this assignment I didn't realize how non-diverse the campus was. I guess being a white male I thought of it as being very diverse. I didn't even realize that a group of people could possibly be unhappy with their social standing on campus. Personally, I feel responsible and I feel like I was once, although unintentionally, part of an aspect that was a part in making these students unhappy. I never bothered to learn about other cultures, or tried to understand what people from other cultures are faced with every day. I took my own standing for granted. ... The situation that the Native American students are faced with now is completely unsatisfactory. Although they are happy here and content in the company of each other, they are unhappy with the lack of diversity the campus offers. There must be more Native American students recruited from high schools. As the Native American faculty member said in his interview, "With a reservation an hour away, there is no excuse for the lack of Native American students here." The Financial Aid department must also do a better job of assisting those Native American Students who can't afford to go to school here. There should also be a change in the curriculum. More Native American courses should be offered. There should also be an increase in the amount of Native American professors to teach these courses. ... As for the questions I asked the Native American students, at first I believed them to be questions that would be answered in a positive way. It didn't even occur to me that these students might be unhappy with some aspects of the campus. But looking back at them now, I see myself as blind. I never realized the difficulties faced by others. I believe the fact that I am a white male had something to do with that. I was too content with myself and not enough concerned with others. I believe that if other students that are only concerned with their own well-being, as I was, would open their eyes to other cultures, the campus would become a culturally diverse place where all races could be content."

Here, then, is a vision of a third possible learning environment where a multifaceted and reflexive self is engaged with a multicultural institution. It involves rethinking both self and culture as evolving networks always in the process of being retold and recreated. Gloria Anzaldúa suggests that we can think of ourselves as new mestizas, or new people of mixed heritage. She imagines us this way: "She has discovered that she can't hold concepts or ideas in rigid boundaries. The borders and walls that are supposed to keep the undesirable ideas out are entrenched habits; these habits and patterns are the enemy within. Rigidity means death. ... She puts history through a sieve, winnows out the lies, looks at the forces that we as a race, as women, have been a part of. ... She reinterprets history and using new symbols, she shapes new myths. ... She strengthens her tolerance (and intolerance) for ambiguity. She is willing to share, to make herself vulnerable to foreign ways of seeing and thinking. She surrenders all notions of safety, of the familiar."

British writer Homi Bhabha calls such a notion of a multifaceted self in dialogue "hybridity." He suggests: "With the notion of cultural difference, I try to place myself in that position of liminal-

ity, in that productive space of the construction of culture as difference, in the spirit of alterity or otherness. The difference of cultures cannot be something that can be accommodated within a universalist framework."⁶

When I am lucky, and things work out well in my classes, there is sometimes a glimmer of a new globalized community which could be born out of the crucible of shattered lenses. We can view this process through a metaphor of battle and conflict resolution; or we can reframe it as a human pilgrimage toward coevolution, culture sharing, and creativity. In time, we could learn and teach a new type of intercultural dialogue which could lead to a restoration of connectivity in fragmented local neighborhoods and ecosystems. We could all become border artists, performers of what Gomez-Pena calls intercultural diplomacy. Those in the dominant culture would need to unlearn old habits of Eurocentrism, voyeurism, paternalism, and cultural appropriation. Those in marginalized cultures would have to unlearn old habits of internal colonization. Both would need new kinds of language. Together we could create hybrid forms of research, pedagogy, art, and discourse which open new horizons for academic work across disciplines. Today, such an environment is still a dream in many university settings, but it is important to dream, so that we know what landscape we are trying to reach.

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Taking the Sciences Beyond Affirmative Action: Cultural Impediments to Gender and Racial/Ethnic Inclusion

Leslie S. Jones



The Persisting Enigma

In spite of a 1964 Civil Rights Act that makes discrimination in education and employment on the basis of sex or race illegal, the millions of dollars and monumental efforts put into affirmative action and scholarship programs, and the countless hours of research devoted to studying attrition rates and student characteristics, the dramatic underrepresentation of all women and people of color in science programs remains an unresolved problem. The most obvious indication of the severity of the problem of educational and vocational access in the sciences is the disproportional representation that exists in the professional ranks. Participation in the scientific community varies widely by field and differs dramatically among ethnic groups (National Science Foundation, 1996), but the overall picture shows a persistent demographic imbalance that has been remarkably resistant to change. Women and people of color are only represented in the sciences and engineering at less than half of the levels they occupy in the total labor force, they hold lower salary jobs with less status, and are unemployed or underemployed at significantly higher rates than white men (National Science Foundation, 1994). "For a variety of historical and cultural reasons, participation in science and engineering in the United States has not reflected the diversity of the Nation's population" (Lane, 1994, Foreword).

While there are countless quantitative studies that document the continued scarcity of all women and men of color in the sciences, there are considerably fewer efforts to determine why this situation persists. Previous studies have usually focused on aptitudes or preparation, locating the defi-

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ciencies in the people themselves, virtually ignoring the idea that the scientific community plays a crucial role in the situation. Mary Atwater (1994) claims that the problem is not the student and it is time to give up the Student Deficiency Model. It is important to recognize how pedagogy (Tobias, 1990), the climate in classrooms and laboratories (Sadker & Sadker, 1994), and the culture of science itself (Seymour, 1995) can be a deterrent and lead to the loss of high ability participants. With all of the success the scientific community usually has in the domain of problem solving, it is somewhat ironic that equity within its own community remains an unresolved dilemma. Since Affirmative Action efforts have done relatively little to rectify the chronic demographic imbalances in the sciences, it seems necessary to develop a better understanding of the situation in the hope of developing other strategies that might remedy the situation.

Strategy for Inquiry

This research began with the assumption that although differences exist among disciplines and individual scientists, there is a set of common values and behaviors that can be defined as a culture of science. Anthropologists have never agreed on a definition of culture, but Clifford Geertz (1973) suggests expanding on Max Weber's idea that humans are suspended in webs of significance. In science culture, such webs might include: the historical background, its philosophical foundations, sources of authority, methodological practices, use of language, and social relations. Scientists are not a group generally thought of as having culture, but the common past and shared future of science as an organized society demonstrates the applicability of the term (Traweek, 1988). There is little acknowledgement of the degree to which science culture literally mirrors, and in some ways magnifies the social environment in which it takes place. In particular, the extent to which science is influenced by racism and sexism has been ignored, exemplifying the way Margaret Anderson (1993) points out that in any sphere, the nature of race, class, and gender in human relations is not always visible and can be difficult for certain groups to see.

Information on the social dimensions of the sciences was obtained through interviews with 34 participants who included both demographically traditional (European American male) and nontraditional (all female and non-Caucasian male) practicing scientists. To provide ample disciplinary breadth, there was representation from multiple disciplines within the life and physical sciences. Purposeful demographic sampling was done across those fields with respect to biological sex and racial/ethnic background. Of the people interviewed, half were male and the other half were female. Comparable numbers of European Americans (18) and People of Color (16) were included. The People of Color included Americans of African (6) and Asian (4) descent, as well as Latinos (4) and First Nation People (2). The interviews were shaped to encourage description,

explanation, clarification, and evaluation of science and its culture. Interview texts were transcribed verbatim. A short synopsis was sent to each participant for review because I was particularly concerned that the traditional scientists were represented fairly in the critical context of this work. The sheer volume of material collected with the unstructured interview style was reduced through progressive focussing. A series of mutually exclusive structural categories was devised and used with a data management program to code the transcripts. Out of this organization, it became obvious that there was a great deal of intersubjective agreement and distinct patterns in the scientists' comments led to the emergence of clear themes from the data.

Insider status, gained from my experience as a research scientist, gave me leverage to probe in greater depth and question problematic issues. Gender added an important dimension to every conversation, as either a matter of negotiating a same sex rapport with female scientists or a level of trust as a feminist researcher with male scientists. A very different challenge existed with respect to ethnicity because of the ideological and cultural biases that John Stanfield (1993) identifies as encumbering any social science work involving race. I struggled to face my own privilege as a member of the majority culture, pushing for a strong anti-racist critical perspective that might decipher some of the intricate camouflage that tends to mask this topic.

An Analytic Mosaic

Even though it was extremely clear that the experiences of demographically traditional (white male) scientists differ dramatically from those scientists who are, by virtue of their biological sex and race/ethnicity, nontraditional members of the profession; the opinions and views of these groups of people do not only fall into discrete categories. The most powerful presentation of the data came from the picture that emerged from the thematic arrangement of the decontextualized data. By blending their voices and losing most of the individual speaker identifications, a more complete portrait of the complex human side of the sciences emerges. A selected collection of their comments gives a very interesting view of the discourse around cultural impediments to diversity that persist within the scientific community.

Always at the Edges: The Sense of Marginalization

Narratives commonly emphasized the degree of marginalization the nontraditional scientists felt. The sacrifices endured for the sake of education can be costly choices for members of different cultures (Sowell, 1994). These people of color and white women have made sacrifices that are supposed to grant them membership into this professional community. The pain they feel from

continued exclusion is evident and they begin to show signs of refusing to invest emotionally in the idea of ever becoming part of the privileged class (Cose, 1993). Disenchantment of this sort is a common consequence of discrimination when people lose faith in the promise of education because the associated promise of success and acceptance is not realized (Grier & Cobbs, 1980). There were serious limits to which people outside the majority demographic group felt they had actually been assimilated:

It's very tough and there most definitely is an old boys' network.

There are little subtle things that add up to making it seem impossible to fit in.

I would say more of my female colleagues are unsatisfied than my male colleagues.

I'm not sure what they view as unifying them or maybe they all worked in the same lab.

The thing is the network, that network will have people who have some kind of cultural connection, social connection, anything.

People will have organized into little groups so that they can carve out some piece of the funding for themselves and it's nearly impossible to break into these groups.

There's a difference between something being a novelty and something getting over that critical mass. So you'll back off of that discomfort level. Just having one or two others takes the novelty edge off but it still doesn't get you to that comfort level.

I think part of the problems that minorities face is very often you're not naturally one of the boys and it is an old boy network.

This testimony tends to emphasize how deeply the combination of exclusionary and inclusionary practices can impact intellectual and political practices (Caraway, 1991). Science is a system in which the white man participates visibly in the public sphere. All others are denied access to the associated authority of the dominant society by their distance from the center of activity (Lewis, 1990). Nontraditional scientists may seem to have been absorbed into the system, they might appear to conform to the normative culture, and they might resemble their white male colleagues on the surface, but they are not fully vested in the scientific system.

Science, according to Nel Noddings (1995), demonstrates its fundamental masculinist (and also ethnocentric) ideology through the language, methods, and the results of the disciplines. Science reifies the position of the dominant group in the way it objectifies human subjects and genderizes nature. Such values seem to permeate the climate of the environment in which science is conducted. There was not one nontraditional scientist who failed to share some aspect of their career that testified to the marginalization that occurs for those who are not part of the inner circle of white men. Some seemed to want to prove that they were well amalgamated into the mainstream

culture of science, but the subject matter invariably brought out the ways in which they know they are held out of the center of the power structure of science. Although I was probing issues of race and gender, I had definitely believed that most of these people would be more fully acculturated into the system. The degree of marginalization varied, but it was always there and linked to their feelings of social isolation:

I am the first science woman in the almost 100 year history of this college.

I am the only Black female in a department of 20-something.

I can't find people to sit down and talk over issues with.

There was one Black man, but not too many minorities.

I was the only woman student and the last one before me was 15 years before me.

It is frightening even in this particular college that there are fewer and fewer in terms of doing basic research.

Tierney and Bensimon (1996) identify the fact that women and people of color or individuals who differ from the norm tend to experience a sense of divestiture when they are compelled to conform to situations with values that are not their own. From the conversations I had with non-traditional scientists, feelings of loneliness and isolation on the basis of sex and/or racial/ethnic group are anything but extinct. As bell hooks (1990) points out there is an importance to understanding difference and a need to recognize the ways in which racism and sexism are interlocking systems of domination. In the sciences they quite clearly support and sustain each other:

When I look at a situation and if there aren't at least about 25% of the people who look like me and sound like me and think like me I feel uncomfortable. That doesn't mean I don't do it. That doesn't mean I don't do a good job but I do have this discomfort and I'm one of those people that puts up with it. There are a lot of people who justifiably wouldn't put up with the discomfort.

They (women) don't fit in as well and probably will never fully fit in either.

Act Like a Lady: The Traditions of Gender

Evelyn Fox Keller (1992) and other scholars point out, that while schemes for classifying people and defining privilege vary across cultures, every group sorts human beings on the basis of biological sex. Respect for gender difference rather than a quest to understand sexism has become the hallmark of postmodern feminism (Gagnier, 1990). Women, regardless of race or ethnicity, find it hard to feel like an integral part of the picture and most certainly feel different in their scientific professional communities:

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I am an associate professor with tenure, but my walk was very difficult and I constantly remind myself why did I think I want to be an academic scientist.

We have one of the highest suicide rates of the professions. They did a study and they wanted to know if we have more cancer and they found out like 13% of the women's deaths were suicide. The men didn't have any elevated rate.

She was an acknowledged researcher in this area and she would say something. It was like she was a ghost. They wouldn't hear it. Somebody else would say that and then they'd start discussing it.

There are different levels of acceptance and I think nominally all the faculty in my department agree that I should be here, that it is OK for me to be here, but within that there are sort of different undercurrents.

The kind of jokes people make, I find tiring.

I realized that there are 40 of us, but my professor knows my name immediately, so I am not going to fit in, I am going to stand out like a sore thumb no matter what happens.

I worked really hard on my mental attitude to say nobody is going to make me feel like I do not belong here.

What I have backed into is the survival technique. Where you go crazy is to keep trying to go across that line, be accepted. Trying to go across the line and different women do it different ways. Some of them will do it by working 70 hours a week.

Science is an example of the type of situation where Bem (1993) says that women are insidiously disadvantaged by androcentric policies that appear on the surface to be gender neutral. The social environments of men and women of science are inscribed around notions of masculinity and femininity that are perpetuated in elaborate traditions of gender. There is nothing traditional about being a female scientist, but female scientists have to be very careful not to stray too far from behaving like traditional women:

When you are a woman and you come into that situation, you don't know anything except that you have got to not make waves.

Women are still viewed as women on the job. They're viewed in a sociological construct and so they can have a PhD and they can have a high-powered job but when men and women come into a conference room men still look at women as women, not as scientists.

It's very annoying because you realize that you are deliberately not displaying key elements of your personality, of what you are simply so that other people around you don't get threatened.

I socialize my students to have those coping skills. I have taught women in science here a couple of times and we talk about some of these things.

In a patriarchal social order that dichotomizes the issue of sex into one of control and domination (Bleier, 1984), the subordinate group learns to work around their lack of authority. There are certain ways women must negotiate gender within the scientific community:

We had to actually learn how to give a talk differently. We got together the women, there were only like 8 women out of the entire thing and we had to give this big seminar.

She told me she says you be real careful about how you show up to these meetings because if you start going and getting coffee for everybody the first time that is who you are.

I think mostly it's just done by observation. You see the sorts of behaviors that are permissible by watching other people do their jobs and then you begin to emerge successfully and you figure you need to emulate the things that you are seeing.

So I think that's a big part of it and I think women are very good at picking up on cues in their environment and then figuring out the boundaries that their behavior has to be.

The Difference a Difference Makes: The Typing by Race

People of color can have a difficult time becoming part of the scientific community. Discrimination has always had an obvious influence on the outcomes of American ethnic groups (Sowell, 1981). There is a certain ambiguity that begins to be a strategy for avoiding the issue of race depending on who is supposed to be distinguishing the diversity or difference (Anzaldúa, 1990):

You can't do anything without being noticed and remembered. You have to prove yourself to them.

About really all I have in common with my scientist friends is that we do science.

If everyone shares an assumption they don't know it's there. So they share all these assumptions.

I see this a lot with the attitude towards Chinese people and I see this a lot in the attitude towards Black people. There are a lot of parallels and I also see this to some degree in the attitudes to some women, not all women.

When I was there, there was a class of 25 and there were 2 Blacks. When we left after 5 years, no other Blacks had been admitted.

The few Native American students I interacted with in the classes didn't seem to appear to be very comfortable.

Science is presumed to be a universal enterprise (Harding, 1993) that could be conducted by anyone, but unfortunately there is tremendous evidence that racial discrimination has not disappeared. Rothenberg (1995) asserts that while the term discrimination is often preferred, it only

masks the actual racism that is predicated on the emphasis on human ethnic difference. Johnetta Cole (1995) identifies the tendency when surrounded by both similarities and differences, to dwell excessively on difference. In conjunction with the participants' statements as to what makes them feel like outsiders within their own professional community, there is a litany of documentation that attests to the ways they are perceived by others:

Just the mere fact that you carry black skin says carries this burden of proof because your skin color says from the historical point of view that you are not a capable person.

I know that our students of color still feel different. I mean just dramatically different.

That's the stigma because you're not as good as—you have some kind of a deficiency as a scientist. I think there's that burden to overcome. To prove yourself that even though I have my degrees, somehow that's not enough to say I'm coming in on an equal footing.

As an African-American there is this stigma I think that one has to work to overcome. There is that issue of having to prove yourself because of the history and the contextual and contemporary issues in America.

When one sees you automatically the intuitive feeling is that well this guy is probably less than average or certainly not above average. He must be average or less than average. Certainly not above average. Certainly not exceptional. Certainly not above average and it's more or less having to prove yourself. The extra burden I think is the right word.

Living the Intersection: Different on Both Counts

Sandra Harding (1991) cautions that there is actually a distinct bias against women of color that carries out both a racist and sexist agenda when the special nature of their position is ignored. Explorations of gender center on white women's issues and examinations of race tend to focus on men of color. Studies of diversity have been seriously deficient through the conspicuous absence of women who are both (Uttal, 1990). Race and gender are inseparable for those who live at the intersection of both forms of discrimination. bell hooks (1990) talks about a western tradition of a sexist/racist conception of who can be an intellectual, which can easily be applied to the idea of a scientist. The testimony of women of color reveals that it is often difficult for them to decipher whether the discrimination stems from racism or sexism:

There is a definite hierarchy. There are the white men, there are the white women and men of color who are about the same, then there are the colored women.

I think maybe one of the things that has helped me in that regard is I can never really tell what ism is coming into play when I get treated poorly. Is it because I'm Asian?

I think there are quite some barriers to women, more to women than to color which is less of an issue.

Actually a Black woman is more scary sometimes than a Black man.

A woman of color has interests in common with both other women and men of her own race/ethnicity, but she also lives in two simultaneously subordinate positions (Lewis, 1990). She shares a sense of powerlessness with them but lives a reality in which her own situation is compounded by the additive effects of both forms of oppression:

It is very difficult to say what is gender and what is race.

Is it a gender issue? Or is it a minority issue?

I feel like I go through a double filter of trying to figure out what's going on.

There are no Black males in that same category or another Black female where I can say OK now I observe this to happen in whatever group but not in the other group, so therefore and by deduction decide whether it was a gender or race issue.

For me a lot of times I can't separate the two because I'm representative of both and unless, and this comes back to scientific inquiry and the need to be careful when one does scientific questions. To me oftentimes I cannot separate the two or observe which it is because I don't have all of the control groups necessary to do that.

What Is Natural About This Selection: The Hiring Process

Exclusivity within the scientific community has been maintained through the control of who has access to professional opportunities. The pretense has always been that of an objective process that could only result in the selection of the best candidate. The demographic homogeneity of the people chosen has led to a great deal of suspicion on the part of some women and men of color that the process is hardly as fair as it is purported to be. Since scientists cannot reproduce themselves biologically, they can only replicate themselves through the process of whom they allow to train for and eventually join their society. Regulation of membership is carried out through a system that has traditionally encouraged some and excluded others:

In any of the searches that I've been involved in since I've been here there has never been an applicant who was in a minority group with the exception of women, and the women just never surfaced to the top of the bunch because they simply weren't in the discipline that we needed to fill.

They weren't there or they didn't rise to the top because they just didn't have the credentials that the other people did.

Once you get to a certain level the exercise is no longer based on merit, it is based on who you want to play racquetball with and if that is the source of our decision making, the only way to combat it is to mandate we must change.

There is always a concern that that could be what's happening and if you're told you have to go out and hire a minority then you have to get the best person within those constraints and that may not be the best person you could hire overall.

The way people get real jobs is through somebody who knows somebody and this is not through malice. This is just the most reliable indicator about a job candidate, that somebody knows them.

Right now the universities can afford to only hire the best people they can hire and if the best person happens to be a female, hey, that's great.

To others, hiring is widely perceived as the means by which scientists control the demographic composition of the profession. The discourse about hiring practices was as volatile as any issue I discussed with these people. There were very strong feelings with respect to what actually happens in the selection of new hires:

It is back to that comfort, they want people like themselves, so they just tend to bring that out and make points about it.

I think there are many, there are some men who would evaluate, who would scrutinize a woman more closely than a man in terms of qualifications.

We always talk about the one candidate who is best qualified, no matter who it is you can always find something that you don't like about them and that could be a valid reason for not hiring them.

Something that would not disqualify a man from consideration for a position or from consideration for joining a lab would disqualify a woman.

The lack of diversity and failure of Affirmative Action is hardly denied:

You really need to get things up to that critical mass level before it's justified backing off.

I can't believe that somebody actually thought after 15 years that it was all fixed and we don't have to have (Affirmative Action) anymore.

Cornel West (1993) talks about America's historically weak will toward addressing racial injustice and the need for substantive redistributive measures. He feels that Affirmative Action may not be the most important issue for racial progress, but it certainly is part of a chain that must be strengthened if change is to take place. It is his feeling that racial and sexual discrimination will not be abated through the good will of those in power and it is a mistake to assume the concept of Affirmative Action is no longer needed. Scientists on the margins who are interested in change have suggested

Maybe that's why we do need affirmative action because what they're going to do is they're going to hire people with whom they feel comfortable and they're going to feel comfortable with some other white guy. They're not going to hire somebody that they're going to be demonstrably uncomfortable with. They're not going to make their lives harder just for the sake of satisfying some remote social goal that they don't understand and they don't agree with.

They should be given presumptive priority simply because they are good enough to be here and if they're good enough to be here excluding them has been a sociological question.

I think that is the only way to combat this attitude. We are not going to fix the problem by mandating affirmative action and forcing the white guy to take on different people.

The way the due process should work with something like this you put out a job advertisement. You go through the applications and create a short list based on the merits of each person and the kind of research they do and how good they are and then if there's a woman or minority in that short list they should be hired.

Who Says This Is Not Fair: The Delusion of Equity

Ann Fausto-Sterling (1985) points out that it is very hard for members of a society that pictures itself to be just and impartial to see discrimination. In the sciences, where value-neutrality (Proctor, 1991) is such a delusional, but central, belief it seems very difficult to accept the idea that anything other than a meritocracy is in place. The testimony by women of color about the limits of acculturation or not fitting in stands in startling contrast to the pronouncements of their white male colleagues who make up the majority population. In what I came to see as a prevalent "fantasy of fairness," I heard over and over how equitable and free of any bias these scientists felt their particular department or field was:

My perception is that there are no problems.

The students that are really good seem to be integrated.

The overwhelming impression I have is that there is not much difference in the way people are treated.

I think we have removed almost all the obstacles that I can think of that are clearly structural things.

I don't see any difference and usually because of my position here, I get the complaints either directly or indirectly.

Of course I am not living those problems or they are not making those aware to me.

There isn't the complaining during lunch, usually they seem as satisfied as anyone else.

There are no barriers now and no barriers at the university level as far as I know. I don't perceive that they have felt especially well treated or especially badly treated.

Such attitudes are rather typical of a vocal commitment to equalitarian principles that sits in stark contrast to great inconsistencies in the process of application. Disparities like this indicate the importance of implementation of measures to reduce the discrepancy between organizational principles (Schuman, Steeh, & Bobo, 1985) of the university that espouse diversity and the reality of the setting that works against any change. Even more so, it argues for creating some understanding and awareness of the perceptions of the marginalized, which do not support the dominant group's analysis of the situation.

Many traditional scientists see the presence of women as an indication that gender issues have been resolved. These white men are particularly confident that sexism has been taken care of:

I think it (science) is pretty gender-free.

I don't think we have much to worry about in terms of gender balance.

If I hear somebody complaining about a gender issue, I will listen to them.

I have never had anybody complain about a gender issue, though.

There just simply are enough women in the classes and in the profession, now, they are not so different from everybody else.

There is absolutely no discrimination among male and female scientists working together in any spectrum.

I just have so many female colleagues that out of respect for their pure science, I can't see that I could have a bias.

The women mix with the men and vice versa, there doesn't seem to be any stigma one way or the other.

At least the ways that I do science, it doesn't have anything to do with being trained by men. You do science according to some kind of approach that is gender non-specific.

However, numbers are only part of the story and unless certain imbalances of gender power are reconciled not just in science, but throughout society, apparent gains could be more cosmetic than real for women in science (Harding, 1996). When I challenged the traditional scientists' comfort zone with the testimony that I was hearing from the other side of the coin, I got a variety of explanations. There was the "historic disclaimer," attributing problems to their predecessors or older colleagues who are in the process of retiring and dying off:

In people my age or younger it is greatly reduced, but I don't think it is gone.

I know that women of my generation were told that they could not be a scientist by faculty when I was a student.

I have known one or two, who are much older, who did regard science as a man's world.

I think something that has happened starting about the same age I am and younger, you'll find pretty significant representation of women.

In people older than me, I think it is still there. It is not like it was 20-30 years ago.

It depends on what percentage of the faculty are old codgers versus younger people who have less bias.

It was basically in my generation where they really kind of broke through, if you will. It wasn't discrimination, but simply based upon an incorrect assumption.

I have actually heard stories of professors saying, I don't waste my time explaining things to women because women, because women don't belong in science anyway.

Tradition Wears a White Shirt: The Excuses and Justifications

Some scientists tried to justify the situation by using what Audre Lorde (1995) refers to as contextualizing difference. In this process of relational understanding, the meaning of difference is exaggerated when group differences are compared in a purposeful contrast that is sculpted from the point of view of those making the comparison. For example, some of the explanations I heard included:

African American students just don't choose this career.

It is not part of what they grew up with and they will go into medicine or law or politics or something.

With Blacks I figure, things like that (science) are just not part of the inner city experience.

These kids go to schools where there is a higher proportion of Blacks and when they come here I will bet this place does look real white.

I also think that the lack of adequate preparation, both mentally and intellectually of some of the students coming into the system also leads to a high drop out rate or below average performance in a lot of cases.

It was a man's world, not resistant to women, women were not interested, I don't think they discriminated.

Women saw a narrower role for themselves in terms of their life purposes. Conversely, the men felt as though that was just the way it was.

Men worked in all fields and that was it. There were a few that were not that way, but not many. I don't think any professions that way back were not male dominated.

This is what Asante (1992) would describe from an Afrocentric view as the Eurocentric tendency to ascribe the problem to those that are perceived to be the problem. He identifies it as a practice of conferring negative attributes to others in order to promote the interest of one's own group. The position of one's own group is seen as reasonable while the position of outsiders is denigrated by refusing to recognize its legitimacy. It is very common in this community to overlook the responsibility that science has for this situation. The very culture of science itself is certainly part of the problem (Massey, 1992). Senior white male scientists stated:

Tech is like a priesthood and it is exclusive and has a long tradition of people on the faculty who it doesn't surprise me one bit do not accept women professionally.

I don't really think there is a high likelihood that I am ever going to ignore the fact that this is a female and all that entails for social life outside of the scientific setting, so I suppose that is always there.

A Reasoned Inference

Audre Lorde's (1984, p. 110) caution that "the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house" referred to the racial power structure of American society, but seems to have a haunting applicability to the issue of representation in the sciences. Where traditional studies of science participation have tended to reify explanations that justify the prevalence of white men in the sciences, this work probes areas that have formerly received less attention. This enterprise paradigmatically contrasts sharply with the very empirical analytic tradition of the positivist science it investigated. This was done in the hope that a poststructural approach with new lines of inquiry, devoted to the production of new knowledge rather than reinscription of the same, might capture explanations that have thus far remained so elusive. In looking to the culture of science itself, as a possible explanation for disproportional representation, my intent was to investigate the ethos of the scientific community from the perspective of nontraditional scientists. Part of the process of professional survival for these people has been maintaining an appearance of satisfaction, and their feelings of marginalization are rarely voiced in a public realm.

There was a pronounced discrepancy in the way traditional and nontraditional scientists feel about the social dimension of their profession. Traditional scientists are fairly content with the existing situation and their comfort makes it unlikely for them to see a situation that is deemed so problematic and inequitable by others. The scientific method and its associated worldview are the most readily identifiable source of the disparity. Many traditional scientists consider societal circumstances irrelevant to the scientific process, operating with the conviction that context has nothing to do with their efforts to uncover essential facts about nature. Scientific enterprises derive consid-

erable cultural authority from the premise of their generation of objective and value-free knowledge. There is widespread belief both inside and outside of the natural sciences that the very nature of the scientific method, through its mathematical basis, makes it inherently impartial. This naive assumption about the methodology is often carried over and reflected on other aspects of science practice.

The "Myth of Meritocracy" is a dangerous delusion that blinds the mainstream scientific community and prevents recognition of the fundamental problems in the profession. Scientists believe they can remove subjectivity from their treatment of people because they are convinced they can do this in their empirical work. People in the sciences are not treated equally or equitably. Racism and sexism are concealed in the sciences because of the aura of objectivity that is part of what is supposed to be the scientific method. Scientists are so convinced that it is possible to purge subjectivity from the laboratory setting, they begin to believe they can do the same for human interactions. The testimony of these nontraditional scientists demonstrates that exclusionary practices and inequitable treatment have not been purged from the professional or educational dimensions of the sciences. Discrimination has just been moved from the former explicit manifestation to a less visible and more insidious location where we can delude ourselves into believing it might have been eradicated.

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College Leadership New Jersey: A Multicultural Model for Developing College Leaders

Janice Ballou, Phyllis Denbo, and Helen Matusow-Ayres



In *Common Fire: Lives of Commitment in a Complex World*, Daloz, Keen, Keen and Parks examine what it takes to form and sustain lives committed to the common good. (Beacon Press, Boston, 1996) They interviewed a core group of 100 people whose demographic profile roughly matched U.S. patterns and who met the following contingent criteria: commitment to the common good (engaged in work that serves the well-being of society as a whole); perseverance and resilience (sustained commitment for a minimum of seven years); ethical congruence between life and work; and engagement with diversity and complexity (aware of contemporary global and cultural complexity and of the systemic implications of their work). In a series of open-ended interviews, they sought to identify trends among these individuals that might account for their commitment.

The authors found one experience that appeared in the life of every person in their sample. They describe this as "a constructive, enlarging engagement with otherness," or an encounter, typically in early adulthood, with people who are significantly different from oneself. To encourage commitment to society as a whole in the next generation, the book recommends developing "initiatives that bring diverse individuals and groups together encouraging dialogue across projects, issues, and sectors."

College Leadership New Jersey (CLNJ) is just such a program. It provides college leaders with the tools and information to pursue a lifetime of socially responsible leadership in their communities

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and their careers. CLNJ's goals are to demonstrate new and effective ways to develop leadership in service to the community; to teach how campus issues relate to issues of concern in the community, the State and the nation; and to build a statewide multicultural group of individuals who, as a result of working together on critical issues, understand the strength of New Jersey's increasing diversity.

The program achieves its goals through a unique, multidimensional model that is statewide, interinstitutional, collaborative and experiential. It focuses on multiculturalism, public policy and community service. Its broad scope and the interconnectedness of its various elements are among the program's greatest strengths.

Funded for two years as a pilot by The Fund for New Jersey and currently as a national model under a three-year grant from the W.K. Kellogg Foundation, CLNJ provides an intense week in residence for a diverse group of college juniors from public and private colleges throughout the State. The program opens with a weekend retreat that explores issues of diversity in an environment that fosters rapid bonding. This is followed by two half-day workshops, one on leadership and the other on community service, and a series of full-day public policy seminars. The participants explore such issues as government and the media, public education, the delivery of health and human services, juvenile justice, economic development and the environment through readings, field trips, guest lectures, case studies and simulations. Each student is expected to keep a daily journal during the week in residence. The semester after the residential week, the students design and complete a thirty hour community service project which, in many instances, is related to issues explored during the core week.

Recruitment efforts are designed to attract a pool of applicants who are diverse by race, ethnicity, gender, socioeconomic status, academic major and type of school. Wide dissemination of the recruitment materials, including brochures, posters and application forms, is the first step. The packages are sent to the senior student service administrators at all New Jersey colleges and universities, as well as to the directors of campus offices of student activities, educational opportunity, and volunteerism. CLNJ graduates also receive the materials and are urged to reach out to likely candidates. Other successful recruitment techniques include:

- Developing reliable contacts at all of the colleges and staying in touch with them.
- Bringing the campus liaisons together periodically to share experiences and ideas.
- Recruiting students via a nomination process that encourages them to feel that they have been selected for a prestigious program.
- Sending notices to campus groups and student organizations.

- Taking advantage of the fact that graduates of the program are its most effective promoters.
- Scheduling presentations on the program at regular meetings of appropriate campus organizations.
- Getting on the agenda of statewide meetings of professional organizations such as student personnel administrators and Educational Opportunity officers.
- Developing posters and brochures and ensuring that they are placed in highly visible campus locations.
- Setting up recruitment tables staffed by program alumni at central campus locations.
- Creating a centrally located campus bulletin board to advertise the program.
- Sending articles and ads to student newspapers.
- Developing a recruitment video and distributing it widely.

To date, thirteen private and eleven public colleges and a wide range of majors have been represented among the 227 CLNJ participants. In terms of gender, 67 percent of the applicants (and participants) were women. As Table 1 indicates, the classes have also been diverse by the standard race and ethnic categories. Thirty percent of the participants were African-American, forty-one percent Caucasian, sixteen percent Latino/Latina, nine percent Asian, and four percent Native American or mixed race.

TABLE 1
Profile of Participants by Ethnicity (1994-1997)

ETHNICITY	1994	1995	1996	1997	Total Number	Total Percent
African- American	13	11	25	19	68	30.0
Caucasian	9	13	31	41	94	41.4
Latino/Latina	7	5	13	12	37	16.3
Asian	1	2	8	9	20	8.8
Native American	0	0	1	0	1	.4
Mixed Race	2	2	3	1	7	3.1
Total	32	32	81	82	227	100%

The standard classifications present only a partial picture of the classes' diversity, however. At the suggestion of participants in the pilot program, the application form asks the students to describe their ethnic/racial background, with no categories specified. The results, which have included such responses as Peruvian Indian/Black/White and half Irish/half Latina, are indicative of the increasing diversity of not only the college population, but of New Jersey and the nation as well.

The two-day diversity retreat that opens the week is an adaptation of a workshop known as *All Together Different*, originally designed to build relationships among diverse student leaders on a single campus and to increase the participants' level of multicultural awareness. It is based upon *Changing Racism: A Personal Approach to Multiculturalism*, a training model developed by VISIONS, Inc. (Batts, Valerie and Watson, Angela). The model asserts that beliefs and attitudes about race, culture, gender and ethnicity are learned. Because we cannot be held responsible for what we have learned, blame and guilt are counterproductive. Instead, efforts should be concentrated on changing beliefs, attitudes and behavior in the present and future.

The goals of the retreat are to assist participants in the following efforts:

- To identify and explore their own cultural values, while learning about other participant's sociocultural backgrounds.
- To examine the impact of oppression on different sociocultural groups.
- To identify their personal responses to cultural diversity.
- To develop a stronger understanding of cultural diversity.
- To develop or enhance their skills and identify resources for incorporating a multicultural perspectives into their lives and our society.
- To provide a context within which to view and discuss the CLNJ public policy seminars.

The VISIONS model defines multiculturalism as the process of recognizing, understanding and appreciating one's own culture, as well as the sociocultural groups or cultures of others. It stresses an appreciation of differences. Multicultural awareness is viewed as an ongoing process.

Individuals are located on a continuum between a monocultural and a multicultural perspective.

The multicultural growth process includes the following steps:

- Recognizing and unlearning one's biases.
- Seeing and thinking about the content of sociocultural group differences, including the exploration of one's own background and identity.
- Integration of the above two steps that results in appreciation, acceptance and celebration of similarities and differences.
- Understanding oppression.

The importance of understanding oppression and how it operates in our society is central to the model. Consistent with the premise that blame and guilt are counterproductive, the model uses the non-judgmental language of *target* of oppression and *non-target* of oppression. Oppression is defined within the context of a dominant culture. Distinctions are made between different levels of oppression—personal, interpersonal, cultural and institutional. Modern oppression is then

identified as the overt and covert attitudes and practices that continue to result in the targeting of certain groups in society for fewer of its benefits. And internalized oppression is identified as the internalization by the target groups of conscious or unconscious attitudes of inferiority.

The model uses lectures, recitations and small group exercises led by trained facilitators to bring participants through the steps of the multicultural growth process. The concepts of modern and internalized oppression are fully discussed, and alternative behaviors are then presented. At the end of the workshop, participants are expected to develop and perform a skit that exhibits their understanding of the concepts.

Participants are divided into groups of six to eight for the recitations and exercises. They remain in the same small groups throughout the retreat. Two professionals facilitate each group. Both the participants and facilitators are selected to reflect diversity. The experience is intense and supportive, encouraging students who are meeting for the first time to bond quickly. In addition, it provides a language and a method for mutual understanding, as well as a framework for studying many of the complex issues encompassed in the subsequent week of policy seminars.

The two workshops that follow the weekend retreat are designed to help provide a theoretical basis and practical context for understanding leadership, developing new skills and processing the tightly scheduled policy seminars that comprise the rest of the week in residence. The session on leadership includes a brief literature review and then presents some generally held precepts about leadership, followed by a case study which is considered in small breakout groups. The reports from those groups provide the basis for further discussion and the development of a pragmatic model of leadership. The students are charged to bear the elements of the model in mind as they hear from experts in government, education, and other public policy areas throughout the week and think about the critical issues that these experts will address.

The second workshop is based on a premise that is at the very core of College Leadership New Jersey: leadership and service are inextricably linked. The session reviews the history of volunteerism nationwide, discusses the current service movement in the United States and New Jersey, and then divides the class into small groups to consider the critical elements of service. The students are encouraged to begin to think about the community service projects that they will design and complete the following semester. They are provided with a list of possible sites and contacts. The session ends with an informal dinner at which the seminar leaders and invited guests who have led lives of commitment to service are asked to share their personal journey with the class. Members of the previous CLNJ class are also invited to describe their

community service projects and offer advice on the elements of a successful project and potential pitfalls.

The four full-day public policy seminars that follow are held in various locations throughout the State. Most of the seminars are urban-based and provide dramatic evidence of what it means to live in a diverse, two-class society. Goals, a schedule, background readings and study questions are provided in advance of each seminar. Students are encouraged to spend time in the evening reviewing the materials provided for the next day's session. Each seminar begins with guest speakers who are selected based on their expert knowledge, professional experience, special perspective and potential to serve as role models. They present an overview of the issues to be explored throughout the day. Every effort is made to expose the students to a diverse group of speakers, in terms of race, gender, ethnicity and age, as well as point of view. Speakers have included a legislator, a member of the Governor's cabinet, a director of a social service agency, and a school district superintendent, among many others.

Following the opening session, which always includes a question and answer session, the students are divided into breakout groups to explore different elements of the seminar topic. This part of the seminar is designed to be interactive; it may include field trips, case studies, or simulations. For the seminar on public education, for example, the students become members of task forces to an urban board of education charged to examine and make recommendations on such issues as educational funding, dropout prevention and school choice. Another seminar has the groups assume the role of families or individuals in need, seeking assistance from the human services delivery system as they meet with various provider agencies in New Jersey's largest city, Newark.

The experiential component of the seminars allows the students to become involved in problem solving on real issues, helping them to understand the complexity of public policy concerns and providing them with an understanding of the trade-offs and consensus building frequently necessary. In addition, the work in small groups gives the students an opportunity to test their ideas publicly, listen and learn from their peers, and influence and be influenced by the thinking of others. These working sessions show the students that leadership has a range of meanings.

At the end of each seminar, team leaders present their group's findings to a second panel of experts, who then comment on what they have heard and answer any additional questions the students have as a result of the day's experiences. Hearing from these speakers offers another valuable opportunity for the students. Their knowledge base grows and, perhaps more impor-

tantly, they learn from experienced individuals what it takes to get things done. Many of the speakers, in fact, offer to make themselves available to the students after the week in residence to answer questions and provide additional information and, on occasion, internships. There are variations on the schedule based largely on opportunities presented by the seminar locations. These may include a bus tour of the host city, a walking tour of the State House, a discussion with high school students, a meeting with a local dignitary or community activist, or an informal chat with a legislator.

The concluding session of the week in residence is a second workshop on community service in which the students discuss preliminary plans for their community service projects. The focus is on substantive, doable projects. The students then embark upon the next phase of College Leadership New Jersey—the development of a written action plan and the implementation of a service project. A great deal of flexibility is allowed in the design of the projects, but they must be a minimum of thirty hours. They may be done on campus or in the community, from “scratch” or through an existing program, collaboratively or independently, in conjunction with a service learning course or as a stand-alone effort. Students are encouraged to develop projects related to issues explored during the policy seminars but are certainly not limited to this. They are also encouraged to draw upon a wide array of resources, including campus-based offices of volunteerism and mentors assigned to each student from among the rich pool of Leadership New Jersey alumni.

As indicated in Figure 1, the range of projects has been considerable. The issues addressed include health, education, the environment, homelessness and hunger. One project was multi-institutional, and several were cross-generational. At least two students took on projects that forced them to grapple with what they saw as personal biases. One worked in a nursing home because she came from a culture that was averse to such arrangements for their elderly. Another worked for Head Start because he really “didn’t like little kids.” He continued to work with the pre-schoolers well beyond the thirty hours, sharing his love of music with them. A few innovative projects, such as the adopt-a-grandparent program developed in cooperation with a local retirement community, were viewed as so successful that existing campus service organizations adopted and institutionalized them.

The wider and longer term impact of the service projects speaks to the success of this aspect of CLNJ. A significant majority of the students report that other people from their colleges became involved in their projects. In addition, the students estimate that their projects have had an impact upon as many as 200 people in the community, with the greatest number reporting that

Figure 1 Sample Community Service Projects

Volunteered in Patchwork Project, a program that raises money for the children of incarcerated women.

Developed a campuswide adopt-a-grandparent program.

Organized an alumni association for an alternative school for high risk young women, and raised funds for the school's parent organization, the York Street Project in Jersey City.

Volunteered in mentor's social service organization organizing an Annual Race Against Hunger; funds raised provide shelter for the homeless and job training for at-risk adults, as well as feed the hungry.

Worked with the Youth Leadership Development Turnkey Training Program for youth offenders in residential group homes, facilitating workshops on family, health, violence, etc.

Worked to develop the recently established campus chapter of Habitat for Humanity, fundraising and volunteering during spring break on a construction project.

Organized a multi-faceted campuswide program for HIV/AIDS Awareness Month that encouraged students to become more knowledgeable about, take responsibility for and become involved in issues concerning AIDS and sexuality.

Established a computer corner at an urban branch library, arranging for a college to donate 14 computers and organizing students to install them and provide training to the community on their use.

Worked with the Puerto Rican Action Board to develop a program that offers support and counseling to abused Latina women.

Organized a multi-college volunteer day at the Community Food Bank of New Jersey.

Worked with an urban community health center to decrease the high infant mortality rate by encouraging poor, illegal immigrant, and drug-using pregnant women to seek pre-natal care.

between twenty and fifty community people have been affected by their projects. And more than half the students remained involved in their projects beyond the thirty hour requirement.

The CLNJ evaluation protocol is comprehensive. Each element of the program is carefully analyzed to identify effective ways to enhance youth leadership skills, including successful interventions and learning techniques. The evaluation methodologies are also designed to explore the dimensions of leadership as they are manifested among the participants and the impact of the program on the students' civic commitment.

At the beginning of the week in residence, the participants complete a lengthy questionnaire about their expectations regarding the program, leadership, community service and civic responsibility. A similar questionnaire administered at the conclusion of the week measures the impact of the program on the students. The questionnaires focus on monitoring changes in leadership

skills, as well as knowledge of social issues, political knowledge, interest in different levels of government, political alienation and experience with diversity.

Additional components of the evaluation include brief questionnaires at the conclusion of the individual workshops and policy seminars, a focus group of selected participants convened immediately prior to their graduation from the program, a survey about the community service project, a survey of the mentors, and an analysis of the journals which the participants are required to keep during the week in residence. The qualitative assessments offer further evidence that CLNJ is successful in discovering effective ways in which youth leadership skills may be enhanced. The information acquired from each of the evaluation tools is used for continuous program improvement.

The overall evaluation of the program has been very positive. On a scale of 1 to 5, with 5 representing excellence, 93 percent of the participants gave the overall program for the week ratings of either 4 or 5. When the students compared the actual experience with their expectations, 89 percent gave the program a 4 or 5.

Leadership skills are measured in a number of ways: a self-assessment of skills relative to others; the frequency of having had specific experiences such as being asked for advice about an issue or listening to another person's ideas and changing one's point of view; effectiveness in accomplishing specific activities such as getting a group to lobby together for legislation; and expectations with respect to the likelihood of becoming a leader of an organization following graduation from college. In all areas, there were increases, frequently of more than ten percentage points, in the post-session assessment. The findings also indicate that the students improved their levels of information about government and the range of public policy issues studied. In addition, the responses to items related to the participants' feelings about their relationship with government, referred to as political alienation measures, suggest that the experiences in the program decreased their cynicism and distance from the political process.

The evaluation process also provides opportunities to assess the impact of the diversity dimensions of the program. The students' perceptions of their knowledge about diversity increased an average of 26 percentage points from the pre to the post-test. In the pre and post tests, characteristics used to measure changes in the students' skills relative to issues of diversity increased by an average of 15 percentage points. These included respecting the views of others (17%), empathetic to all points of view (13%), and thinking about self before others (16%). In addition, there were increases in the students' pre and post assessment of their awareness of the concerns and issues of

eight diverse groups, including African Americans (9%), Gays and Lesbians (4%) and Latinos (3%). Underscoring the impact of the multicultural focus of the program, when students responded to a question regarding the aspect of the program that had the greatest impact on them, interaction with people who are different ranked highest among five program areas. Finally, when they were asked to rate the weekend retreat focused on multiculturalism, 89 percent gave it a 4 or 5, the second highest of any of the workshops or seminars.

The qualitative analyses further reinforce the powerful impact of the multicultural experience. The journals kept by the students often focused on the value of the opening retreat. Typical is the following comment: "Throughout the day, I learned about multiculturalism—not just the concept, but also the content. For the first time, I felt like the word meant something." And when asked what they would remember most about the week, the students wrote frequently about their interpersonal experiences. Perhaps one student said it best, when s/he spoke of "the bonding; learning from others; trusting others who are different in race, culture and religion."

Sharing Selves: The Use of Videotaped Interviews as Tools for Exploration and Education About Gender and Race

Dorothy Denburg, Marjorie Croes Silverman, Christina Kuan Tsu, and Vivian Taylor



This session described a project in which video-technology was used as a vehicle to allow particular groups of students to express their feelings about their ethnic or racial identities in order to use those personal expressions to educate other members of the Barnard College community.

Barnard College is a private liberal arts college for women affiliated with Columbia University and located in New York City. The College is 108 years old; it was founded as an independent affiliate of Columbia, initially because the Columbia faculty refused to admit women. It currently enrolls approximately 2,250 women, mostly traditional-aged students, from 47 states, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, as well as from 20 other countries. In the comparative ratings in college guides, Barnard falls in the "most" or "highly selective" or "competitive" categories. Approximately 1,900 of our 2,250 students live on campus, and so the issues of community that are so important in residential colleges are, of course, compelling issues for Barnard as well.

Among the so-called "elite" colleges with which Barnard is grouped, and certainly among the one-time Seven Sisters, Barnard has historically enrolled higher proportions of children of immigrants, immigrants themselves, and first-generation college students. As a result, its student body has always been rather diverse in terms of ethnicity, nationality, and socio-economic status, though markedly less so racially. At present, 5% (more or less) of enrolled students identify themselves as African-American, 5% (more or less) as Latina, and 26-27% as Asian or Asian-American. This information provides part of the context in which this project was developed. Each of these groups experiences the College differently and each confronts—has to cope with—different issues.

Dorothy Denburg is dean of the college and chair of the project, Marjorie Croes Silverman is associate dean of studies, Christina C. Kuan Tsu is assistant dean of studies, and Vivian Taylor is associate dean of student affairs, Barnard College, New York City.

In 1993, the year in which the present Dean of the College assumed her responsibilities, these proportions were roughly similar, with 4% African-American, 6% Latina, and 26.5% Asian or Asian-American. What was particularly striking in those numbers was the fact that the percentage of Asian and Asian-American students had jumped, more than doubling, from 12.4% in 1984 to 26.5% ten years later.

The Dean of the College oversees all of the student service functions that support the academic mission of the College, including Admissions, academic and pre-professional advising, the Registrar's Office, HEOP (the opportunity program for economically disadvantaged New York State students), Disability Services, Career Development, Residential Life, Student Activities, the Health Services, and the intercollegiate athletic program. Within the student services area, we were observing some disturbing trends. Our Asian or Asian-American students, the so-called "model minority," were experiencing difficulties in ways and numbers we hadn't seen before. There was plenty of evidence. Asian-American students were showing up on the Academic Review lists, most of them students with very strong credentials upon entry. They were coming to the attention of the residential life staff as the result of excessive "partying," which in many cases was contributing to their academic problems. Very few were availing themselves of our counseling service and those who did were in great pain. On the other end of the spectrum, they were disproportionately represented among our Phi Beta Kappas and *summa cum laudes*, and for two consecutive years, Asian-American women were elected president of the student government. The inevitable question arose: Who were these students, now over a quarter of our student body, and what were the issues they were facing in their Barnard experience?

In order to give them a voice, to empower them to tell us—and through us, the broader community—what their pains and unique situations were, the Dean charged a team of staff members with the task of getting a group of Asian and Asian-American students to talk about their feelings and issues, and recording those for the purposes of staff development within her division and perhaps also for the education of the faculty.

Two things must be noted immediately. First, the scope and depth and importance of the project changed dramatically in the course of the creation of the first video. What was intended as a homespun, video equivalent of a home movie became a surprisingly dramatic video with an integrity and beauty of its own. The amateur team of a dean who is a psychologist, a lawyer who is a dean and pre-law advisor, a social worker who is a counselor in the Health Service, and the Associate Director of Career Development, three of them themselves Asian-Americans, quickly discovered the power of video as a medium. It also became clear, early in the lengthy process of

creating this video, that the project could not stop with Asian and Asian-American students. The information the film-makers were getting was so rich and so revealing and so new, even to people who worked continuously with these students as professionals, that we saw that we ought to do similar projects with African-American and Latina students.

Second, it was very clear that the video had many more potential uses than as the simple staff development tool originally envisioned. The original intent—the creation of a video which would allow students to discuss the paramount issues in their lives in a “safe” setting, in order that, in the long-term, we could serve them better—was more than amply fulfilled. But there were surprises . . .

Both of the first two videos (the third is currently being edited) confirmed for us an important and too often overlooked reality: that, even as we focus on the particular, on the unique, we uncover our commonalities. So many of the issues that were pressing for these young women transcended ethnicity or race, cutting across gender and class, reminding us of the ways in which groups overlap and intersect, for example in issues of language or financial pressures.

Nor had any of the people involved in the project anticipated the growth in awareness of the students and staff involved in the projects and the journey that the project would launch, a journey that ultimately involved members of the community all the way to the Trustees.

The first video, “About Face,” made its debut, as planned, at a divisional meeting of all the staff in the student services area. These meetings include all employees—clerical, office support, professional—in every office in the area. Dorothy Denburg had been holding two such meetings each year since she became dean to instill a sense of team membership among all staff and to provide some staff development opportunities. The screening of “About Face” evoked extremely strong emotional responses. Among one of the first questions asked, by an African-American, was “why Asian-American students? Because there are more of them than African-American students?” It was very good to be able to say that “About Face” would be the first of what was now shaping up as, at least, a trilogy. The development of the second video, in turn, enlisted different members of the division, and the process has been educational for all.

The videos that resulted from the project are “About Face,” which consists of excerpts from interviews with students and one alumna and is 25 minutes long, and “Indivisible,” which is 40 minutes long and combines interviews with current students and five alumnae from the '50s to the '90s. For presentation at the AAUW conference, two abbreviated, edited versions of about fifteen minutes each, were prepared in order to allow time to describe the process of creating the videos,

community responses to them, and the uses that have been made of the films thus far.

Marjorie Silverman assembled a planning committee of Asian and Asian-American women and administrators at Barnard. That group consisted of the interdisciplinary team described above as well as an Asian-American work-study student working in the Deans' Office who suggested students to interview.

Staff members developed questions about identity, family, romantic relationships, religion, education, career aspirations and other dreams, and important events in their lives. Using these questions as a starting point, the team embarked on the "pre-interview process," which was carried out by the four administrators. Fifteen students were interviewed in sessions lasting about one to two hours. Based on these preliminary interviews, they selected students who they thought would be effective on camera, open, and reflective, who spoke fairly quickly and made good eye contact. From the pre-interviews, the planning committee crystallized their final list of questions.

Marjorie Silverman described the process as follows: "We decided that the format would be a series of talking heads and that the interviewer would not be on camera. We attempted to choose as diverse a group of Asian students as we could find and one graduate who, we thought, would lend a different perspective. We asked each student to sign a release form which allowed us to show the video tape without restriction. Since our budget was infinitesimal, we were as frugal as possible at every step. Our biggest investment was in a consultant for \$350 from Teachers College, Columbia University, who was teaching a course in film and video technology. We located a videographer who would work for \$1,000 for one day of shooting. We thought it very important to keep the flavor in the room as Asian as possible in the hope that it would make the students feel more secure, so even the videographer's two assistants were Asian.

We filmed for eight hours and then gave the audio documentation to our office assistants to transcribe. It was a remarkable day. The students were outstanding in their open reflections, and we felt that we had created a very trusting environment. We took the transcriptions, two TVs, two VCRs and remote controls with fast forward and rewind and spent about 250 hours editing the footage until we had 25 minutes of tape that we felt conveyed a very strong message. We divided the video into four topics: Identity, Family, Relationships, and Barnard. We showed the film at a divisional meeting at nine in the morning, accompanied by classic Asian breakfast foods representing many different Asian countries (Korea, China, Japan, Vietnam, etc.) The film was followed by a panel discussion which included the women who had worked on the film and an Asian-

American student who happened to be the head of student government. The community response was very positive and appreciative of our efforts. They were moved by the students, and a very rich discussion evolved."

In the following year, the same amateur team, now with some experience behind them, moved on to the second video tape, focusing on Black students and alumnae. As a group, they struggled over their descriptive language and ultimately chose the term Black because it was thought to be more inclusive. They chose to add an equal number of alumnae because this population distinguished itself from Asian and Asian-American students. The percentage of Black students at Barnard had remained constant over many years, but the College had a long and proud history which began with Zora Neale Hurston, the "Harlem Renaissance" writer, who was Barnard's first Black graduate, graduating in 1928. The students and staff involved thought it was important to underscore the history of this particular population by including older alumnae. Silverman thought it would be valuable to merge the Asian team with a new team of Black administrators, given the huge learning curve that had already taken place. This provided an opportunity for an intimate multicultural experience. So, an enlarged group of staff combined resources to create what became known as "Indivisible," the video about the history and experiences of a particular group of Black women at Barnard College.

The planning process was similar except that the group was larger and now included some current students and some Black support staff who were important mentors for many current students. Efforts were made to reach into the community and cut across job titles to create an inclusive multicultural production team. The pre-interviews included approximately thirty women, twenty current students and ten graduates. Ultimately, seven current students and five alumnae were chosen.

Filming was once again done in one day. Many of the older women were very accomplished: two much-published and widely recognized writers, a judge, and a professor of psychology. Something akin to a reunion spirit developed as the women waited to be interviewed. The current students were delighted to be surrounded by a group of impressive Black women, those who were to interview them, as well as the prominent Black graduates. So, once again, the day of the actual shooting was very moving and the interviewees expressed a sense of pleasure in the fact that their school was interested in their personal experiences.

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The video projects culminated in private screenings with the President of Barnard College Judith Shapiro, which included all of the women involved in producing the film and all of the interviewees. Silverman notes, "For everyone involved, seeing how interested and supportive the upper levels of the administration were and just how sincere our community is about understanding its diverse constituents is healing in itself. It has developed a greater sense of trust and respect among us."

The Barnard community as a whole responded positively to the two videos. The clerical support and administrative staff members within the division of the Dean of the College, as well as those outside of the division, reacted with surprise and appreciation. The sense of surprise was twofold. First, there was general surprise at the high quality of these in-house productions, created by some of their own colleagues. The second element of surprise was with the actual content. The information in the "About Face" video gave new insights into the world of the sample of Asian students. One staff member remarked that she would never look at all Asians in the same way anymore: "They are from different groups and they are all different individuals." This type of sentiment also gave way to expressions of the second most common reaction— appreciation.

The Barnard community clearly appreciated the use of video as a medium. Video technology proved to be an interesting and effective educational tool, which did not force or insist on tolerance on behalf of Asians or any other group, but which simply, and in a very piercing way, touched the human spirit in them, one human being to the other. The most frequent one-word descriptor used to sum up the audience reaction to "About Face" was the word "compelling."

The main questions asked after showing "About Face" at the divisional meeting were: "Will there be more videos like this about other groups on campus? Will there be a video on Black students?" Fortunately, planning for "Indivisible" was already underway, and two divisional meetings later "Indivisible" was presented for viewing.

The divisional staff members received "Indivisible" warmly. Again, there was appreciation for the opportunity to learn about another group of students—their struggles, fears, and triumphs. There was interest on the part of the audience in the concept of identity, in the many ways that Black students chose to identify themselves—as Black, African-American, Native-American, and sometimes as a person of color.

The strongest concern expressed regarding "Indivisible" came from the staff of color both within and outside of the student services division. Many of the support staff of color had been informal

advisers to Black students over the years. These staff members were familiar with the backgrounds of the students and had shared experiences similar to the ones talked about by students and alumnae in the video. These staff members reacted with a sense of confirmation. "Yes! These are some of the experiences that many Black students have had. I am glad that you are acknowledging it. Thank you." These staff members also asked questions like: "Did you edit the film to exclude negative information that students may have reported experiencing at Barnard?" These staff members felt that they knew fairly well what the Black experience was like—for example, that it was difficult for a Black person to get a taxi in certain parts of the city. The answer to the first question was an emphatic "no." The filmmakers did not intentionally leave out information which would place the College in an unfavorable light. In fact, they felt a strong sense of commitment about sharing the truths expressed. According to Dean Taylor, "We took seriously our mission to educate about the experiences and feelings of the Black student members who were and who had been a part of our community. Information about Barnard was seen as particularly critical to include. However, we knew that we could not include thirteen hours of tape in a video that was to be 30-40 minutes long. We told our audience how vigilant we had been about making sure the edited sections of comments by our storytellers were consistent with the spirit and context of their remarks."

It was clear, from two types of audience reactions, that the goal of educating others was being realized. First, white and some other non-Black staff members expressed their ignorance about things like the fact that Black students sometimes have difficulty in hailing a taxi. This was new information. They were outraged by the sense of pain, indignity, and isolation expressed by *their* students in the videos. This acknowledgement shared by staff was an important beginning step in looking at their own behavior toward and manner of interacting with students. The second type of audience reaction which contributed to the filmmakers' sense that their mission was being realized occurred when staff began to talk among themselves about their relationships with each other as part of a diverse working community. Black staff members—professionals—began to share their troubles in hailing a taxi, or a white staff member began to talk about how uncomfortable she had felt in expressing disagreement with a Black colleague. Taylor offered an example: "The Dean of Admissions at Barnard, a tall and commanding Black woman, commented that there had been times when she had been on the road making school visits and while in a school's waiting area, had been overlooked by school personnel who would still be looking for the Dean of Admissions at Barnard to come walking through the door. The sharing of this kind of information helped us all to grow; we had even more admiration for our Director of Admissions as she spoke."

Taylor also noted that "in sharing with each other, staff members began to educate each other and to understand what it means to live in a diverse community. They learned more about what it means to work with students. The videos humanized our staff by increasing their own understanding of the plight of our students and our collective understanding that we need each other to survive."

Also important to note is the impact that the project had on the filmmakers themselves. "We worked on this project with a deep belief on the part of the production team that we were making a very meaningful contribution to our community by giving voice to different minority groups. The video medium created an opportunity for intimacy. We needed to respect the power of the medium and honor our subjects. We were all committed to making sure that we didn't distort what the interviewees said, that we reflected the greatest diversity possible within the culture and that we did our best not to reinforce stereotypes," said Silverman.

The editing process had ground rules, and the production teams often fought bitterly when making choices about what to use in the film. They confronted each other's biases and challenged each other on very primitive assumptions. They developed relationships that crossed the boundaries of race, status, and age, as the second production team in particular was diverse in all of these characteristics.

Editing many hours of videotape into a few minutes of documentary footage about a particular culture often created a great amount of disagreement and friction. Through what were civil but very raw and painful arguments, the filmmakers saw their way to an end-product that they all felt committed to and proud of. The process took several months, and in that time they reported that they had significant influences on each other.

Affiliations often shifted within the group; sometimes individuals identified with each other by race, religion, age, or profession. They often changed positions as they talked things through. For example, one of the younger Black filmmakers was initially adamant about not using footage in which a current student talked about Clarence Thomas and Anita Hill. Others felt that it was a salient description of how, at a particular moment in this student's life, her identification with her gender outweighed her need to protect her race. A few weeks into this argument, all involved had changed sides. Many were moved to see how passionately this young Black administrator felt about not introducing this piece because she was concerned that it would focus attention on what she felt was a very ugly media event in which African-Americans had been abused, and that the reference was so fresh and potent that the developmental issues related to the student speaking on the video would be lost.

Marjorie Silverman observed: "I'd like to be able to tell you that we knew at the outset what a valuable developmental impact working on these video tapes would have on the filmmakers in creating a much stronger sense of community among them. But, in fact, this was an unanticipated by-product of the project. Creating the videos was a powerful process that forced every one of us to confront our own prejudices and assumptions. We learned an enormous amount about one another's personal histories and cultures and, surprisingly, about many of our similarities as human beings as well as those differences that define us."

Finally, Silverman observed, "For those of us who were interested and emotionally and intellectually available, work on this project was a valuable opportunity to stretch ourselves, and I think we were all grateful for the chance to participate in the project."

Beyond Denburg's original intent to further the professional development of the student services staff, the videos have been used extensively both within the Barnard and Columbia communities, as well as outside the campus.

Each time, following the initial screening of "About Face" and "Indivisible," other administrative departments within Barnard, such as alumnae affairs and development, used the videos as part of their office retreats to help their staff members better understand the diverse student populations at Barnard when they went out to represent the College to alumnae and others in the outside world. In the past academic year, "About Face" was shown at a meeting of the Faculty Department Chairs, as well as to a group of new faculty members at Barnard, in an attempt to increase faculty awareness of Asian and Asian-American students and some of the issues they brought with them into the classroom. Columbia University's Counseling Service used "About Face" in a training session they held for their mental health personnel and house deans. The video was very well-received; Columbia counselors and deans found the content extremely helpful in their work with students since at Columbia, as at Barnard, the numbers of Asian and Asian-American students had increased dramatically over the years.

Earlier in the year, there was a meeting of the Columbia University Employees of Color at which "Indivisible" was shown and discussed. There was a mixed group of about 25 to 30 clerical workers, middle managers, and faculty members from Barnard and Columbia in attendance. Again, the video received a very positive response.

In addition, "About Face" and "Indivisible" were shown in their entirety to the Student Life Committee of the Board of Trustees and excerpted versions of the two videos to the entire Board.

The goal in showing these videos to the Trustees was to give them a sense of the changing demographics of the student body at Barnard. A totally unexpected outcome of these screenings was that each time the videos were shown, individual trustees made financial contributions toward the production costs of the next video project. In a similar vein, some scholarship money was received from alumnae who have seen the videos.

Staff members also had the opportunity to bring these videos to other conferences. One such conference was held at Yale University in the summer immediately following the production of "About Face." A group of staff who were involved in making the video brought it to a conference of the East Coast Asian-American Administrators in Higher Education. The people who attended were primarily administrators who worked in student services at schools in the Northeast, such as Brown, Amherst, Rutgers, and the University of Pennsylvania. Again, the video was seen as a valuable tool in starting the conversation about the issues of concern to Asian and Asian-American students. Regardless of whether their own institutions were coeducational or all-women, large or small, public or private, the attendees all identified similar issues that they encountered among their own students. It was evident then that the issues that were of concern to students at Barnard were universally shared by Asian and Asian-American students at other colleges and universities.

Both videos have also been brought to a national conference of colleges and universities that had received a two-year grant under the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation's "Pluralism and Unity" initiative. The goal of the Hewlett Foundation was to increase the appreciation of group differences and to further understanding of the common concerns and values that bridge group divisions. Barnard's Hewlett-sponsored program, called "Exploring Diversity: Barnard and New York," combined learning within the classroom with field research projects and community service internships in the local neighborhoods of New York City and culminated in a campus forum each semester for the two-year grant which integrated the community-based learning with on-campus experiences of diversity and was an opportunity to discuss methods to resolve conflicts within diverse communities. At this Hewlett conference, in addition to reporting on the accomplishments of Barnard's Hewlett-sponsored program, these videos were shown as evidence of other things that were being done at Barnard which were in line with the purported goal of the Hewlett initiative.

As a result of all the above uses of the two videos, the College has been able to sell them to other colleges and universities, as well as to private high schools and boarding schools.

But what about the students? This year for the first time, one of the videos was shown to students. Five Asian-American administrators from Barnard and Columbia organized a forum for Asian students during Asian Pacific American Awareness Month. "About Face" was shown and followed up with discussions in smaller groups. The students who came to the event reacted with surprise that such a video had been made and that administrators really did care about their issues as Asian and Asian-American students. At the end of the forum, students completed evaluation forms. The following are some of their comments:

"I feel that the film helped to draw out the issues and the discussion helped to resolve them on an individual level."

"I think the video was really helpful in bringing up issues and topics and made it easier for me to speak up about my own experiences when I could relate to those of others."

"This needs to be shown to more students. I was really amazed at the responses from students and the silences. Students enjoyed and needed to talk about these issues of identity with other students."

"Thanks for providing this opportunity for discussion and reaffirmation and really comfort too. It feels good to come together."

At the present time, we anticipate several additional uses for these videos. We hope to continue to use them with larger and mixed groups of students, perhaps at Orientation, as part of Resident Assistant training, and even with students in the dormitories. We also see continued use of them in raising awareness among new faculty and academic advisors at Barnard. As Denburg noted, "These videos surprised us all with their power to educate. We look forward to building on what we have learned and to sharing the insights and revelations that our students and alumnae have so generously shared with us."

"Combating Prejudice in Campus Communities"

Debra J. Stogel



When people think about diversity training, they often conjure up all sorts of images of what that training will be like. They usually assume it will either be a long, boring lecture about different cultures and racial groups, or they fear it will be "sensitivity" training, and that they will be asked to sit in a circle, hold hands, and tell each other their most intimate secrets. The A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE Institute is neither.

The A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE Institute is an international program designed to combat prejudice and discrimination of all kinds and to promote the valuing of diversity. Since its workshops are interactive, they are far from boring. Two trainers representing diverse cultural and racial backgrounds facilitate each training program, drawn from an accomplished training staff who hold advanced degrees, and have significant experience in organizational training. Custom-tailored to the needs of the clients we serve, the workshop includes information specific to the particular diversity issues and concerns of the organization or campus community and how these issues tie into organizational improvement and increased effectiveness. The overall goal of the Institute is to combat prejudice through innovative and comprehensive educational programs.

The A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE Institute is a program of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), a non-profit civil rights/human relations agency dedicated in purpose and in program to defending democratic ideals, safeguarding civil rights and combating anti-Semitism, prejudice, discrimination and bigotry of all kinds. Founded in 1913 "... to stop the defamation of the Jewish people ... and to secure justice and fair treatment for all citizens alike," the ADL has evolved as a leader in the development of materials, programs and services that build bridges of

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respect, communication and understanding among diverse racial, religious and ethnic groups around the world. It was with these ideas in mind that the A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE Institute was created in 1985: to strengthen pluralism in the United States by defining and advancing a discipline of diversity education.

Colleges and universities across the country are experiencing dramatic and exciting changes consistent with the demographic shifts in the U.S. population. The emergence of student organizations reflects the ever-changing landscape of our country. Groups representing gender-based issues; students of every ethnic background; students facing physical challenges; gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender students; and students with religious involvements, for example, are bringing visibility and voice to the needs and wants of the college campus. The campus community, to remain healthy and productive, must create environments that will allow all students, faculty, staff and administrators to grow professionally and to advance. A CAMPUS OF DIFFERENCE was created with these ideas in mind. The A CAMPUS OF DIFFERENCE program provides strategies, techniques and tools that are necessary in teaching people to both value and manage diversity on campus. A CAMPUS OF DIFFERENCE is a highly adaptive and interactive program, and is applicable to students, faculty, staff, administrators and employees. Its objective is to promote the concepts of diversity within the bottom-line concerns of the college campus community. The training sessions incorporate experiential exercises to increase collegial camaraderie and morale, enhance opportunities for recruitment and retention of students and faculty, promote better cooperation, increased productivity and decreased absenteeism among employees on campus, and improve community relations.

The starting point of the program is a basic awareness training session. The program does not focus on one "ism", nor does it establish a hierarchy of whether one "ism" is more insidious than another. Through experiential exercises, the program helps participants confront their own biases, increase their self-awareness and learn to recognize and celebrate diversity.

The A CAMPUS OF DIFFERENCE goals provide participants with the opportunity to: (1) examine the concepts of stereotypes and assumptions, (2) assess their perceptions about themselves and others with regard to their unique differences, (3) explore the idea of culture, and the ways in which people's perception of culture can vary, (4) explore the issues related to discrimination and bigotry on campus, as well as defining how faculty, administrators, staff and students can be a part of the solution to these problems, (5) discuss how diversity on campus enhances the environment and how diversity awareness translates into a more productive campus environment and a higher level of satisfaction among faculty, administrators, staff and students, and (6) prepare to integrate these concepts into the campus community.

At the beginning of the A CAMPUS OF DIFFERENCE program, the process of establishing guidelines or ground rules is essential to the discussion of diversity. The purpose of this exercise is to create some boundaries for the discussion that will allow participants to freely, productively, and safely communicate their thoughts, concerns, ideas, and experiences, while fostering constructive dialogue about cultural diversity and anti-bias issues. This is accomplished by eliciting ideas from the group which will establish a mutually agreed-upon set of ground rules for the session. By working together, participants experience a personal investment in the success of the process and start to abide by the ground rules. Furthermore, by collectively establishing the ground rules, participants are able to discuss issues and manage controversy in a constructive manner, creating an environment where all participants can openly and honestly express their views or explore ideas. Finally, when conflict inevitably arises in the workshop, the ground rules serve as a reminder of the need for respect, openness and sensitivity.

Research states that one of the first critical steps in combating prejudice is for people to come to grips with their own unconscious stereotyping and the damage it can do. As early as infancy, people begin to distinguish between the familiar and the strange, the "me" and the "not me." In childhood, people join groups and learn to draw boundaries between "us" and "them." By adolescence, group identity becomes even more important as "fitting in" becomes a higher priority. In adult life, group alignment and investment is viewed as a necessary and important part of defining one's identity. Many affirming experiences result from group interaction and involvement when open communication, free expression of ideas, and qualitative interchange of opinions are established norms. A heightened understanding of one's own cultural identity coupled with knowledge about the heritage and struggles of other groups provides the building blocks that will allow participants to develop effective methods of combating prejudice, reducing anxiety and violence, and allowing individuals to lead more meaningful and productive lives.

To this end, A CAMPUS OF DIFFERENCE launches into the discussion of diversity through a self-identity exercise, a process which provides a forum for workshop participants to explore and discuss their own identities and establish the connection between identity and personal bias. The exercise is structured to allow participants to discover things about themselves and others gradually and in a non-threatening way. It provides a mechanism for exploring the importance of culture and self-identity. During this exercise, participants are asked to share, in small groups, their responses to four questions with regard to their heritage, background or ethnicity. By doing so, it becomes obvious that people describe themselves in many and varied ways and that these attributes are often pivotal to an individual's identity.

A lot of participants are challenged by this exercise. Either, there are so many descriptors to include, it is difficult to narrow it down to four words, so participants find themselves with many hyphens in their answers. Or participants are uncomfortable with the idea of "labeling" themselves, yet use these same descriptors when they describe others. If we want to learn more about others, we have to be willing to look at ourselves and be comfortable talking about who and what we are. We cannot be "color blind" to our racial, ethnic and cultural differences.

Another reason people are challenged by this exercise is one which is rooted in our long and cherished belief in the "great American Melting Pot." All of our differences were going to be "stirred-up" and turned into a singular American culture. But it never happened. The failure of this great American myth has led to cynicism, and not a melding of cultures. As a result, we sometimes find ourselves without enough information about all of these various cultures. One of the goals of the workshop is to encourage people to recognize, however, that they do not need to continuously seek out a "cultural expert" in order to learn from and live with people who are different from themselves. More often though, our own peers and colleagues on campus can become our most informative resources. The important key is learning and knowing how to access the information we are seeking.

Unfortunately, many of us have never been taught or given the appropriate skills to know how to ask for the information we are seeking. The A CAMPUS OF DIFFERENCE training program provides three basic "Diversity Skills." They are: (1) The ability and willingness to ask questions, (2) The ability and willingness to give answers, and (3) The ability and willingness to create an environment where questions can be asked and then answered. This does not mean that all questions are appropriate. We must learn to phrase our questions, in order to avoid making offensive assumptions and stereotypes.

In fact, there are a few ground rules for asking questions and giving answers: (1) Do not ask one person to express an opinion on behalf of a group of people or an entire culture. An individual may explain personal rituals, practices and beliefs. A person may share personal experiences and personal opinions. However, that person should not be asked to speak for everyone in the world who is like him or her. (2) Timing, privacy, tone and body language all play a role in how comfortable a person will be in answering the questions you pose. Start by pretending that you are going to have to answer the question for yourself. What would need to happen in order for you to feel comfortable answering it? What voice level would you need to hear? What kind of body language would you need to see? What choice of words would make you feel most comfortable? Would you be comfortable answering the question in front of others or would it need to be asked

in private? Does the question require an informal moment or can it be posed in a meeting? Think through what you would need or want, consider the person you are approaching, and then pose your question. (3) Some questions are simply inappropriate. There are pieces of information that are either extremely sensitive or confidential. By inverting the question and asking it of ourselves first, we can personally test this out.

One more step in this exercise is to have participants participate in a self-disclosure or "stand-up" process. Participants are asked to identify with various descriptors and consider how differently it feels when standing with a group or alone. Not only does this portion of the activity provide participants with new insights, it also provides an opportunity to think about whether or not someone "standing alone" on their campus would feel comfortable.

Participants tend to self-identify or "stand" in one of two ways. Sometimes they do so as part of a group, and in this case, they probably feel comfortable and supported. They feel like they "fit in." Sometimes, however, when people self-identify, they "stand" alone. When someone "stands" alone, that person does so in one of two possible ways. Either the person "stands" with their arm up over their head, with their fist in the air, filled with pride; or, they "stand" with their arms behind their backs, with their eyes cast down. When new students enter the campus community, each almost subconsciously looks around and asks "Am I entering this campus as part of the group or am I entering alone? And, if I am entering alone, is my hand going to go up in a fist over my head with pride or move behind my back with my eyes lowered." How a new student feels can have more to do with those people who already exist on campus than it has to do with that new student. If a student comes on to a campus where differences are valued, respected and appreciated, where being unique is viewed as a positive asset, where an atmosphere exists that allows for all people to grow and succeed, then the student can feel secure and respected and can expect to succeed. But, if the student enters an environment where differences are not valued, accepted and respected, where a person who does not fit the "norm" is ostracized, then the student is diminished and his or her chances of academic success are minimized.

All of the research that examines why a student of color is apt to leave a particular college campus, points to the same primary reason—A LACK OF INSTITUTIONAL FIT! This is defined as not fitting in with the norm, not feeling comfortable, respected and valued. Students of color complain that they "just don't fit in" and feel as if they are an outsider to the mainstream experience of life on a college campus. In fact, as we move into the mid to late 1990's, the biggest diversity challenge facing colleges today is the *retention* of students of color.

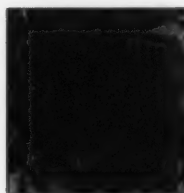
Institutional issues on campus are explored through the video: "Facing Difference; Living Together On Campus." The video focuses on a variety of issues such as stereotyping, Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity programs, gay, lesbian and bisexual issues, and controversial speakers on campus. This video is designed: (1) to expose students new to the campus environment to the many issues they might encounter as a result of living and participating in diverse college community, (2) to help college administrators, faculty, staff and/or students explore their feelings and attitudes toward issues of prejudice, racism, and bias on campus, (3) to help college administrators, faculty, staff and/or students cope with and combat prejudice and discrimination, and (4) to challenge all members of the campus community to become an active part of creating a more harmonious campus community. Campus community members need to work together. For campuses to become true communities, they must engage in multifaceted approaches involving learning in and out of the classroom, cooperation from the faculty, staff, and administration, and careful understanding and sensitivity to all student needs.

All of us have life experiences and influences that trigger stereotypical thinking and can lead to prejudicial behavior. At the A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE Institute we understand this. We work towards changing behaviors and fostering changed attitudes. Some people change because they see the light, others change because they feel the heat. At the A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE Institute our challenge is to be both bright enough and hot enough to work with all people to bring about these desperately needed changes.

Authors Note: I wish to acknowledge the contribution of my colleague, Marjorie B. Green, Director of Schools and Education for the Anti-Defamation League.

Stories From a Learning Community of Re-entry Women

Diane S. Horwitz,



There has been an explosive growth of adult women students in higher education over the past twenty-five years. Though these "re-entry women" are a diverse and complex group, several common economic and social changes seem to have played a role in their return to college. Central among these are redefined social expectations for women, changing family situations including high rates of divorce and establishment of female-headed households, and precarious economic conditions placing pressure on women in more traditional families to become wage earners. As job security grows scarce and many watch stable, full-time employment turn into temporary and part-time work, some women are drawn to school to increase their options. Others have made the decision to abandon abusive marriages, or to leave the insecurity and poverty of public assistance. At Moraine Valley Community College, where I have been teaching for over two decades, I work with re-entry students who hope that education will be a way up and a way out.

At Moraine, over 45 percent of our students are older than 27; more than half of these are women. Most are part-time students, juggling complicated and busy lives, rushing from work to family to class. Boyer (1987) notes that these nontraditional students "have an especially bumpy introduction to campus life" (p. 49). Fragmentation and isolation frequently characterize their academic lives. A student may register by phone, choose not to see an advisor, or attend an orientation session; they may have no knowledge of the resources and support services offered by the college. Outside of class, students' friendships and academic ties to classmates can be haphazard and their connection to campus life is peripheral. At least half of the faculty are part-time adjunct instructors with other jobs, and are often too busy to fulfill advisory and mentoring roles.

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In addition to these obstacles, adult women students arrive with a host of concerns and worries: memories of negative high school experiences, rusty academic skills, and low self-esteem. They worry about belonging: feeling marginal in a sea of eighteen year old faces, keeping up academically with these traditional-age students. Will they be able to read, concentrate, take an exam, and find their way around the campus? And what about the difficulties of balancing their multiple roles? How will family members adjust to these new responsibilities? How can the community college provide the opportunities, the structure, the social spaces for these women to be successful students?

In 1975, along with Bonny Henry, then a counselor at the college, I developed the Returning Women's Program in response to these issues. Re-entry students spend three mornings (or two evenings) in each other's company taking a block of three courses: An Introduction to Communications, Introduction to Sociology, and Human Potentials. The classes complement each other. The Communication course is basic freshman English that tries to help each woman build her confidence and skill in more formal, standard writing. Students write personal essays, and learn research skills. Topics for their compositions can be drawn from the other courses. In Sociology, we study the impact of the larger society on individual lives. Extensive discussion of gender roles take place: talk about women's work inside and out of the home, about the changing nature of the family, about their own socialization. Our expansive conversations explore (among other things) the growing inequality in our society, the impact of poverty on people's lives, how jobs are changing, and whether participation in politics is worthwhile. Students practice their writing skills by reflecting on these issues.

Human Potentials is an applied psychology course that ties the women's experiences in the program together by challenging them to examine and develop their potential, both academically and personally. It is here that a lot of personal reflection occurs: conversations about life histories, academic worries, difficulties in marriages, hopes and dreams. While the Sociology course gives them a broad overview of structural barriers in women's lives, in Human Potentials the daily meaning of those barriers are confronted. Apprehension about fitting in, lack of confidence, untried skills are confronted directly and the re-entry students see the commonalities in these anxieties. They develop and share study skills and explore individual learning styles and preferences, discover how to conquer test anxiety, receive academic advising, and get support for difficult personal decisions. Study groups are formed early in the semester. Each woman has the opportunity to share her writing, study for exams, discuss problems in any of the three courses, and develop new ideas for learning in a smaller sub-group.

This course is a hybrid of a women's psychology group and a "college success" class. Ongoing processing and appraisal of their academic work is coupled with strategies to deal with balancing multiple roles. Re-entry students learn to assess academic difficulties and identify sources of support, both within the college and the larger community. The goal is empowerment—becoming a self-defined learner, but in community with other women.

Faculty in the program empathize with older women's issues, and serve as mentors, both academically and personally. The Human Potentials teacher is available for individual counseling, in fact, each re-entry student is required to have at least two of these sessions during the semester. Support services are built into the program. In addition to ongoing personal and academic counseling, career planning and development, tutoring services, and a child care center for pre-school age children are available. Women are formally encouraged by faculty to take advantage of these services. By the end of their semester in the program, they should have a good sense of the range of supports available, and have learned to negotiate the bureaucracy of the institution. The working relationship between faculty and student development personnel, as well as integration of the curriculum is central to the program.

An Adult Center serves as a drop-in counseling site, a study room, an information desk, a social hub, and a source of group identity. The Center also serves re-entry students not in the program. It is a place to recruit new students. Recruitment for the program is often done via word-of-mouth, but also more formally through notices sent to community organizations, local libraries, social service centers, women's groups, newspaper articles, and programs on local cable shows. College advisors, who are often the first to see a potential student, are informed about the program and encouraged to discuss its goals and benefits with adult women considering enrollment. The program is mentioned at Moraine's all-student orientation sessions, and two special sessions are set up for adult women students. Displaced homemaker, single parent, and high school equivalency (GED) programs at the college are other recruitment sources.

The morning and evening sections generally enroll from fifteen to thirty students apiece; in over twenty years, more than a thousand women have gone through this program, though this is a small fraction of the total number of re-entry adult women students at the college. While many colleges offer personal growth and re-entry workshops for women, as well as a range of counseling and support services, the Returning Women's Program integrates these services with women's crucial first academic semester in college.

To further understand the impact of this program on re-entry students, I conducted in-depth interviews with twenty of its graduates individually and in small groups (Horwitz, 1994). Their reflections are a rich source of "student lore" (Schubert and Lopez, 1993), narratives of their experiences in the program and beyond. The use of narrative as both a mode of knowing and a research method which facilitates the construction of knowledge by girls and women is encouraged by many researchers (Luttrell, 1989, 1993; Lyons, Clandinin and Caims, 1993; Witherall and Noddings, 1991). Students are the ultimate insiders and experts, but often their voices are absent from educational discourse. The interviews gave both the students and myself the opportunity for critical reflection to consider and reconsider their experiences in the program. I asked them to describe themselves as students, to discuss their lives in school, their learning styles and preferences, the difficulties and obstacles they faced, to talk about what they consider good teaching and exemplary classrooms. I wanted to understand why they chose a women's program as a way to begin college and what impact the program had on how they viewed themselves and their worlds. Their narratives provide a vibrant kaleidoscope of stories, from remembrances of themselves as high school students, to their worries and fears as they entered college, to "perspective transformation" (Mezirow, 1978), a reframing of their thinking about themselves as learners, in their relationships, and their expectations—the process of developing a sense of agency. The stories they tell illuminate some pivotal elements of the Returning Women's Program. In contrast to the "chilly climate" that so many women face in college settings (Sandler, Silverberg and Hall, 1996), an intellectual community developed in the re-entry program, one that built on the strengths the women brought with them.

"It Sounded Comfy. We'd Be Holding Hands."—Safety and Security

Women explained how they were drawn to the program by the promise of beginning school with a "like minded group." Here for example is Fran, "I knew I was going to be with people in my same situation. All of us were going to be in the same boat. They had all been out of school for a while, closer to my age. I felt it would be far less intimidating and that they didn't have the answers to all the questions either." Judy expects it to be like a "self-contained classroom", using imagery from her children's elementary school—being with all the same students, not having to change classes. A fragment of conversation from a small group echoes these sentiments.

Kathy: And when I read the brochure about it, it sounded comfy. You'll all be going to the same classes together; it sounded like we'd all be holding hands.

Betty: And there would be all these grown-up people. You wouldn't be—

Evelyn: —thrown to the wolves.

Mary: With all those kids!



Personal disclosures are made on the very first day. We learn about the past thirty or forty years of their lives, of similar worries and fears, and nagging self-doubt as they embark on this new adventure together. Amelia remembers, "I felt so much better because I was hearing: 'I'm this old and I've got this many kids,' and 'I'm going back to school because I want to change jobs,' or 'I've never been to school before. This is my first time.' And I thought, ahh, I wasn't out in that life raft alone." This initial process of finding their voice, and of becoming visible offers a sense of safety and security. Sharon says, "Those classrooms, those women were my little island where I was safe. It was like a little cocoon for me." But the secure haven serves as a springboard toward changes. "Well the idea of being in a cocoon is that you are going through changes while you're in there, and then you spread your wings, and that's exactly what I think happened to each one of us."

Because of their common life experiences, their shared anxieties, the initial disclosures and acceptance, the women's program began to be a place where a student could speak freely, "in the comfort of daily conversation" (Collins, 1990, p. 95). Though classes and faculty vary in their degree of formality and teaching approach, the existence of a cohort moving through all the classes together sets up an environment for learning that resembles an informal peer or family group, personalized and supportive. One re-entry student remarked: "The classroom was a safe place to be, and that teacher was a safe person, and your classmates were safe people to be with." It is this sense of security that sets the groundwork for taking a risk, for a freeing of intelligence; as Evelyn suggests, "It gave us permission to open our minds."

"A Girl Scout Camp and Slumber Party"—Affiliation and Connection

As the semester progresses, initial bonds grow and deepen. Women find "a real camaraderie," "kind of like my women's church group," "a cross between girl scout camp and a slumber party." Many arrive at class early creating a space for themselves, adjusting to the transition between their lives as mothers and students. "Our kids were off to school. I can breathe now," one student declares. All remember studying together and helping each other prepare for exams. Another shred of conversation recalls this process:

Renee: The day of the test, four people crammed me, and I got a B.

Mary: Didn't that feel good!

Evelyn: That brain was working big time.

Renee: It was four brains actually.

Kathy: Five! Five!

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This conversation takes place four years after this incident, yet in it is a glimpse of the supportive ties they forged. Many maintained connections away from school. Phone trees were circulated, and they would talk after school, on the weekends, when children were asleep. They shared notes, copied them when a woman missed class, helped each other make it through. Betty talks about support for Rose, "I remember when your daughter got in a car accident and you were going to drop out, and we went, 'She can't. We are not going to let her. We're going to get her through this.' There was that bonding and that concern for your child, and we all understood that. But just because that interrupted your studies, we weren't going to let you fall through the cracks."

Their attachments to each other solidified around the common work; this was the glue of their bonds, a kinship of like minds with a mutual task. Fran describes it this way, "If I had different classes in the beginning, I don't think I would have stuck with it. I had a personal need to feel connected, connected to the learning experience as a whole." For most of the women, affiliation and connection are central to their academic success. And often they try to maintain this link as they move out of the program into their second semester of college, registering for classes in small groups. "After we were mainstreamed, out into mixed classes, we tried to stay together," Judy mentions. "Mainstreamed" appears many times in their narratives, a sense of a separate and unique space created by the Returning Women's Program. They carried their sensibilities honed in the program, and their learning preferences into regular college classrooms. The relationships they forge in the program become a motivator to recreate this affiliation in other classes. As Wanda observes, "Something I automatically do in a class ... the first day I introduce myself to one person, and then every day after that I would try to concentrate on another one, to learn a couple of names, at least the people that sat around you." And Cherie gives advice to teachers, "When you first go into a class, and this is your first time in it, an effort should be made first of all to let everybody know who's there, and a lot of teachers skip that. You need to have that beginning. Otherwise, it's just a bunch of strangers sitting there, glancing at each other, wondering who is this person. You get a little glimpse of people, who they are, and you can see them as a whole person, not just a student." These stories of affiliation point to a mode of collaborative and cooperative learning.

While not all women in the program develop strong ties to each other, and certainly classes throughout the past twenty years have taken different shape and character, building linkages for common work is typical. In the world of schooling, affiliation and help are often suspect. We are told from first grade on: "Keep your eyes on your own paper;" "Don't ask your neighbor;" "Think it out for yourself." The lesson is to "make it on your own." Though there are competing mes-

sages of "share" and "cooperate," the dominant values are autonomy and independence, rather than caring and empathy (Gilligan, 1982). Programs for special groups often are viewed from a deficit model; apparently women are not self-sufficient, too needy, too dependent on others. Sharon has a divergent view. "It takes courage to take a helping hand," she asserts, redefining courage to include admitting need, vulnerability, the affirmation of support through relationship. There are many images of hands in the stories: "A hand on your shoulder to push you forward," "Extend a hand to someone else," "Hand-holding among ourselves," representations of mutuality and connection.

"Real Talk"—Women's Learning Styles

The re-entry program attempts to develop a learning community that is typically more student-centered, caring, collaborative and holistic than the usual college classroom. This is largely possible because of the linked classes and cohort experience, as well as the attributes of safety and connection. Additionally, while not making claims for an entirely distinctive mode of learning for women, my classroom observations as well as their stories point to the possibilities of gender related learning and knowing. I am mindful of the tremendous diversity among women, differences of class and race and ethnicity. However, drawing on the investigations begun in *Women's Ways of Knowing* (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule, 1986), as well as those of other feminist researchers concerned with women's experiences in school, I see evidence of significant learning in the women's program that is grounded in a climate of cooperation and care, ways of knowing that are embedded in their social relationships. Patricia Hill Collins (1990) suggests an alternative epistemology used by African-American women. Central to this way of knowing is a strong ethic of caring, an emphasis on emotion, empathy and personal expressiveness in women's connections to each other. "Knowledge for black women," she contends, "is rarely worked out in isolation from other individuals" (p. 39). She goes on to note that "the emphasis placed on expressiveness and emotion in African-American communities bears marked resemblance to feminist perspectives on the importance of personality in connected knowing" (p. 217).

Listening to the conversations in my taped interviews (most particularly in the group interactions and the dialogue between myself and the students), I was struck by how similar it was to the talk in a returning women's class—dialogic, emotional, often intense. In the small interview groups, women reinforce and elaborate on each other's memories. I noticed repeatedly how one student would interrupt and finish another woman's sentence, idea building upon idea. The conversation is punctuated with laughter, often hilarity. "Oohs" and "aahs" and "yes" and "that's right" and "I know what you mean" sprinkle the dialogue, infusing an affirming and supportive affection. "I

love it!", "Great!": exclamations of attestation, of confirmation. There are often non-verbal gestures that accompany the voices, a hand on someone's shoulder, a shudder, an expression of surprise. The talk is frequently intimate, personal, informal and exploratory. Belenky et al. (1986) contend that women's speech may be more hesitant, qualified and question posing. Women check things out. "Why can't a man ask for directions?" wondered many of the students. Perhaps this is a metaphor for women's vulnerability or uncertainty, or being open to new information and a questioning spirit.

There is a lot of conversation in these Returning Women's Program classes—women listening to each other, sharing, asking and answering questions, speculating, exploring, connecting their lives to the curriculum. There is often reciprocity and cooperation here. Belenky et al. (1986) sees this "real talk" (p. 144) as characteristic of constructivist knowers: a realization that "All knowledge is constructed, and the knower is an intimate part of the known" (p. 137). Within a climate of nurturance and support, students can develop the capacity to be active listeners, to engage in exploratory thinking, to share understandings, and to move away from a teacher-centered classroom to a student-centered one. The creation of an academic community which builds on the learning styles of women, can provide the conditions for the possibilities of constructivist knowing to take place.

"I've Lived Through That!"—The Authority of Experience

Respect for the rich life experiences that adult women bring to higher education is a critical element of the Returning Women's Program. Too frequently, no "credit" is given for the competencies they develop through many years of working, parenting, being an actor in the world. The re-entry students quickly realize the wealth of knowledge they have acquired, what Luttrell (1989) describes as "common sense knowledge that stems from activities that are embedded in the care of and affiliation with others ... a form of knowledge that allows for subjectivity between the knower and the known, rest in women themselves, and are experienced directly in the world" (p. 40). And they appreciate teachers who acknowledge and build on this accumulated wisdom, the "authority of their experience" (Culley, 1989). Cherie gives an example, "There was something about the way they viewed the students, as if they really valued their experience. I know you have something to give by being older. It was a sense of valuing you as a person, recognizing our experience. They found occasions to have you comment on different aspects of your life and how it was applied to what you were doing in class." She points to the desire to bring the self into learning, to be able to make links between personal concerns and larger bodies of knowledge. Sharon describes this process, "I remember a philosophy and a psychology class, and the teacher

talked about something and I thought, I've lived through that. So I understood real well what they were talking about." Their commentaries mirror adult learning theory: education which is active, experience related, and involving critical reflection (Brookfield, 1987; Mezirow, 1990).

In their narratives, I notice a preference for the sharing of authority in the classroom, valuing teachers who are willing to learn from students. Fran observes that women's relationships involved an interchange of roles: "Sometimes a student, sometimes a teacher," she declares. Belenky et al. (1986) conceptualize the connected teacher as midwife, "one who would help them articulate and expand their latent knowledge, ... assisting the students in giving birth to their own ideas, in making their own tacit knowledge explicit and elaborating it" (p. 217).

Nor did they want to be "treated as kids" asserts Maude. She goes on: "The teachers understood that if you came into class with an excuse, they didn't look at us and say, 'awwww.' You believe us, what we told you. They didn't treat us like some teenage kid coming with a lame excuse, if our kids were sick." And they appreciate teachers who could empathize with their multiple roles, understand their out-of-school lives, and be flexible and accommodating. Fran describes one of the teachers in the program: "When you came into class the first day, he gave you a little card to fill out and asked if there was anything that could interfere with your education. And when I put down that I was a single parent, and if my children were sick I would need to be absent, he made a point after class that he totally understood that. Never to feel like I couldn't call him to get homework, and it really made a difference." Respect for experience, acknowledgment and regard for the many demands of their adult lives, and connecting the curriculum to personal concerns validates the re-entry woman as a valued learner who brings considerable wisdom into the classroom.

"Before It Was Just Personal"—Naming Their Experiences

It is words that empower meditation, that fend off the scariness of things with no names and that ease the burden of oppression. And in the end, it is words that enable us to make some sense of our existence by allowing us to stand aside to narrate it.

Toni Morrison, accepting her Nobel Prize for Literature

Gender issues are an important part of the curriculum of both the Sociology and Human Potentials classes. For example, in my Sociology course, women explore research about sex role socialization, come to understand the meaning of institutionalized sexism at work and home, and learn about the history of the women's movement. In discussions about inequality and poverty, special consideration is given to issues of particular concern to women such as

changing welfare laws, and the increase of poverty rates among children. In both courses they are introduced to feminist writers and researchers. Sometimes I share my history in the women's liberation movement. For many women, this is their first exposure to these issues in a systematic, academic fashion.

And for some, a "naming" process occurred: words as sense-making, the deepening of consciousness, a recognition of the social character of their experiences. Fran says, "Now I know the names of everything I've lived through." Wanda tells how this happened to her: "Suddenly all these things I had been living all these years, I put labels on them. It was really making me face reality. Learning the words hit home probably because it was so real. It made me look." And Sally shares her story: "My husband is abusive, mentally ill. I knew all the living with him, all the conditions, and all the horrible things, but when I would read it, I would say, 'that's it, that's it!' Saying it almost makes what you've experienced real. Before you didn't know, because it was more personal." Cherie talks about learning how "society was set up, class systems, and how people were treated; I remember finding out about things that I had sort of thought about, but never really knew about. It wasn't just isolated." I suggest to her that she had lived it. She replies, "But I couldn't put it into words."

Their lives as women "were just personal", experienced in the niches of their day. Knowing the words begins a process of deeper understanding. Systematic, formal exploration of gender issues in the Returning Women's Program enable women to contextualize and understand their experiences in a different way.

"Hungry to Learn"—A Redefinition of Intellectual Communities

The re-entry program suggests a redefinition of the meaning of "intellectual communities" to encompass a more holistic, caring, student-centered, collaborative learning environment. A safe and secure place, a space to make connections and get support, and a climate of nurturance and acceptance set the stage for this learning community. The program tries to build on adult women's strengths, their learning styles and experiences. Their stories resonate with their transformations as learners: "I was starting to get smart." "My skills kicked back in." "I realized I learned a lot from life." "I could do it!" For women who sat silently in their high school classes, were resigned to C's, indifferent and even hostile to school, their conceptions of themselves as students had changed. Wanda says: "When I had finished the whole semester, I had a totally different opinion of me, maybe for the first time in my life."

For some, a demystification about traditional-age students took place. Judy remembers a second semester class that a large group of re-entry women took together, and "the younger gals said, 'How did you do that?' We showed them; we worked our butts off." "When we were studying together, I found out that I had a mind," Maude remembers. Younger students asked to borrow their notes and to study with them. And they began to see themselves through the eyes of their instructors, who would often give them a "pleading look," an appeal to the adult woman in class who they could count on to spark a conversation. The students were surprised to discover that they were someone as Judy says "who could cut it," serious students, self-motivated, "front row-ers," sometimes suffering from "A-itis" (the need for validation by getting that A grade). They began to speak up and speak out, to question: "Where did you get those stats?" "Why were those questions on the test?" Their tales tell of nourishing and stimulating their brains ("My brain is like a sponge."), of the powerful intellectual experience of ideas coming together, of discovering as Kathy laughed "that school could be fun."

Passionate encounters with learning, what one woman described as "exhilaration," reoriented student intentions. Sally came back because she knew her husband was going to leave the family and she had to be prepared for a job "in a hurry. But that wasn't the reason I did my work after a while. It was a whole world opened up for me. I was going to take a typing course, and then get a job. But it made me hungry for everything." The women's program fostered for her and many others a sense of purpose and pleasure in intellectual pursuit.

Disclosure of personal information led to connection; recognition of the commonalities in their lives to an empathic climate; they listened, responded, validated each other's ideas. An ethic of care was present in the classroom (Gilligan, 1982; Noddings, 1984), and a relational, connected learning environment the result. The conversation patterns observed in their narratives and in class—question posing, intimate, informal, and supportive provided affirmation for emerging thought. The dialogic nature of the speech tried to draw everyone into the conversation. Their life experiences were affirmed within the group and by faculty. As a result, many women began to be confident and secure in their abilities, developing a "free mind" (Collins, 1990). I wonder if schools support or deny this mode of being and learning in a classroom. Is women's knowledge affirmed or trivialized? Do they get "credit" for their talk, their questions, their style, their experience? Many researchers think not (Belenky et al., 1986; Gilligan, et al., 1990; Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, 1992; Weis, 1990). As an alternative, this learning community speaks to the re-entry students' "hunger to learn," their desire to be "passionate knowers" (Belenky et al., 1986), and to the confirmation of their experience and expertise.

Successes, Problems, Suggestions

Though the program serves as a successful approach for adult women who are beginning their academic careers at Moraine Valley, it is marginal, serving only a fraction of the total re-entry population. The possibilities for expansion have not been addressed systematically. Though an effective way to facilitate re-entry for adult women, there is little formal follow-up after the semester is completed. Lewis (1988) offers a comprehensive set of strategies for a real institutional commitment to re-entry women, including systematic recruitment campaigns, extensive community out-reach, sensitivity training for faculty and staff, providing scholarships and other forms of financial aid, flexible scheduling, ongoing mentoring, advising, and continuation of support services throughout students' college careers. Acknowledging the special needs of adult women necessitates a reordering of priorities, and the commitment of staff and resources.

Moraine Valley has completed two studies of the program, with a particular focus on retention and graduation rates. "Graduates" of the program do well. For example, in the latest study completed in 1996 (surveying women who participated in the program from 1989 through 1993), between 78 and 90 percent of these students registered for classes the semester following their enrollment in the program. The retention rate for all students during the same time frame ranged between 51 and 64 percent. Graduation rates also were significantly higher than the general student population. By 1996, about a quarter of these students had completed their Associates of Arts Degree, another 10 percent, the B.A. or beyond. Forty-five percent reported that they were still attending college and pursuing a degree. Further research exploring the variables associated with degree completion, as well as job change is indicated.

The high retention and graduation rates of students who completed the program, the self-reports of the women surveyed, the narratives collected in my own research, as well as anecdotal evidence associated with my active involvement in the program for more than two decades, suggest that academic learning communities coupled with support services are an important model for serving the growing population of adult women students at colleges and universities.

Finally, the development of a "small schools" approach—a personalized learning community—is receiving increasing interest at colleges and universities throughout the country (Learning Communities Directory, 1995). Linked courses, freshman seminars, interest groups and other models are being offered to combat the fragmentation, alienation, and lack of personal contact characteristic of many traditional-age students' early academic careers. One report (Tompkins and Levine, 1996) observes that students involved in their learning community "have consistently

reported that they benefited from the more intimate classes and increased interaction with faculty and peers." The students were "more comfortable asking questions, participating in discussion, and seeking out teachers for assistance in learning communities courses." The "Family College" Program at the City University of New York (Gittell, 1996) is a support system for mothers receiving public assistance. They take courses together and spend time talking about their personal needs and problems as well as their work. Like the Returning Women's Program, it is both an educational and personal support system. A study of the impact of this program found that "CUNY students on AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) who were in those special programs did better than our regular students in terms of accumulation of credits and grades" (p. 18).

There is a reactionary climate in our country today: affirmative action programs are being dismantled; programs for special populations are at risk; the right to higher education for women on welfare is threatened. Colleges are beset by budget worries and programs that use a more labor-intensive commitment and demand greater resources go against the grain of cost-effective strategies such as distance learning, or large lecture halls. The stories from re-entry women point us in a different direction—the importance of providing opportunities for women who arrive in college, determined to make changes in their lives. Demanding attention to and respect for the multiple roles they play, serious, and "hungry to learn," they are experiencing the beginning of claiming knowledge for themselves. Developing supportive spaces for these women, alternative programs that provide both nurturance and challenge is a task for all those concerned with the right to a vital and robust education for women.

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WILL: A Unique Model for Higher Education in the 21st Century

Fern Marx, Patricia C. Harwood, and Holly Blake



If institutions of higher education are truly interested in empowering their women students, they must treat them differently than men and consider how their campus climate promotes or destroys women's self-estimations of intelligence and expectations for career patterns. In 1980, Westhampton College, the women's residential college of the University of Richmond, created a unique model of intentional design for the empowerment and transformation of women.

The Women Involved in Living and Learning Program, (WILL), provides a comprehensive curricular and co-curricular program for undergraduate women in a supportive and challenging environment where women can realize their individual and collective potential. WILL utilizes a three-pronged strategy of women's studies course work, co-curricular programming on gender issues, and collective activity with other women to realize its goals. Selected by a committee of faculty, students, and alumnae of the program and the college, approximately 30 applicants enter the four-year program during the fall semester of their first year; in any one year, approximately 120 students participate in the program.

While some limited research has been conducted in the past on program effects, much of the information available was anecdotal. As part of WILL's 15th anniversary, Westhampton College and the Wellesley College Center for Research on Women undertook an ambitious research program on WILL alumnae and current students. The goals of this research agenda were to measure the impact of the program over the short and long term, provide information to improve program functioning, and help other colleges and universities, both single sex and co-educational, adopt

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similar programs. Data from the alumnae survey point to a synergy between the effects of the WILL program and the university.

WILL participants were significantly more likely to see their university experience as contributing to success in their chosen careers, assumption of leadership roles, enhanced self-confidence, and the ability to think critically and communicate effectively. WILL alumnae were found to be significantly more likely to graduate with high honors and go on to post-graduate programs; to have actively chosen their current occupations; and to be more satisfied with their careers. Moreover, the effects of the WILL program appear to be cumulative; the highest scores on a variety of measures were among those who participated in the program the full four years. This finding is supported by data on current WILL students, among whom seniors report the highest scores. There were also other strong similarities between current WILL students and WILL alumnae. Well over 90% of both groups said they would recommend the program to incoming women students and when asked to describe WILL, both groups used words like, enlightening, empowering, challenging, eye-opening, and unique. In the most recent focus groups with WILL students, when asked to describe the program, one student said that, "I've done the learning but its the living that makes the whole thing come together." or another woman, a graduating senior stated, "WILL has given me a tool kit to address whatever comes along in my life." The lasting influence of the WILL Program is also reflected in the statements that alumnae made about the Program. Again and again, alumnae stated that the WILL experience was transformative. Testimony includes: "Looking back on my college years as a whole, five years after graduation WILL stands out with only a few other experiences as one that I will continue to learn from throughout my life" or as another alumna stated, "WILL helped shape who I am today; the WILL program was one of the most positive experiences of my life ... I don't know who I would be without WILL."

Our society cannot afford to lose the contributions that 51% of the population, its women, can make. WILL offers a unique approach to counteract limiting gender-based stereotypes, boost low confidence levels that often characterize the female collegiate identity, and help transform the lives of women students in ways that 21st-century life will demand.

Chapter Three

Faculty Diversity and Development



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The Caliber of Equality in Higher Education Minorities and Women in a Developing Dual Labor Market

Phyliss Craig-Taylor



Institutions of higher learning occupy a unique position in society because of the opportunities they provide to students to broaden their horizons and challenge their pre-existing values, in preparation for becoming the future leaders of society. Therefore, faculties are the critical resource in higher education inasmuch as they determine the curriculum's content, student grading standards and the general direction and climate of the institution.¹ Faculty members perform a valuable mentoring function for our future leaders and policy makers. In addition, they perform research which can impact the direction of the nation and the well-being of its citizens. The potential for these institutions to satisfactorily perform these functions in a dynamic world economy involving the intersection of so many cultures is hampered by the continuing small presence and potentially the absence of women and minorities in high ranking professorship positions in our nation's colleges and universities. A plural, integrated university community flowing from the student population throughout the faculty and administration is a necessary value in our democracy. A value that must be fought for, celebrated and venerated, if we are to avoid the reintroduction of separate but and unequal into our notions of higher education for women and minorities. For these reasons, it is essential that we continually examine who we are.

Women have made considerable progress in higher education but in many respects men continue to hold a strong advantage. Teaching has long seemed an acceptable profession for women because it did not clash with the values of femininity and motherhood. For example, in the African American community, women were encouraged to seek education in order to uplift the race. By the turn of the century, more and more women were earning bachelor's, master's and doctorate degrees. This movement opened the door for women to enter academia. As early as

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1900, women made up 20 percent of all faculty positions. In 1981, the percentage of total faculty members who were women had increased to 26.8 percent.² By 1991 women made up only 31.8 percent of all university faculty.³ After entry into academia, the climb to tenure status presented another steep and formidable challenge.

Though, in 1987, more than 70 percent of all male faculty members had tenure, the number of tenured women was only 27 percent.⁴ A further analysis of these numbers reveals a disturbing trend which does not bode well for women in academia. Evidence of a dual labor market is apparent. While the vast majority of men in academia are by and large tenured at full or associate professor levels, women are congregated in the lower ranks in un-tenured or non-tenure track positions. This leaves women in the minority and in powerless, vulnerable positions with less job security and little if any control over the destiny of institutions with which they are associated or their own personal destiny. In 1993, only 17.0 percent of all full professors and 30.0 percent of all associate professors were women.⁵ In contrast, 42.1 percent of all assistant professors and 49.25 percent of all instructors were women.⁶ In the same year, 83.0 percent of all full professors and 70.0 percent of all associate professors were men.⁷ Of the total teaching positions held by men in 1993, 65.0 percent of the positions were at the rank of full and associate professor.⁸ Men represented 35.0 percent of the assistant, instructor and lecturer positions.⁹ Combining the top two ranks women accounted for 40.0 percent of the full and associate professor positions and 60 percent of the positions and in the lower ranks of assistant, instructor and lecturer positions. A dual labor market is further indicated when looking at the growth pattern of women holding tenured positions. One would hope that with more women entering academia, more women would have obtained tenure. However, statistics reveal that full-time faculty who are women are less likely to have tenure than their male counterparts, and this situation has not changed over the last two decades. In both 1975 and 1993 about 38 percent of women had tenure compared with 58 percent of men.¹⁰ However, since 1973, the percentage of women in the non-tenure track role has increased from 26 percent in 1975 to 36 percent in 1993.¹¹

When the salaries of men and women are compared, another disparity is evident. Although there is a lower than average percentage of women at the more prestigious and higher paying types of institutions (such as research universities) and a higher than average percentage of women at public two-year institutions, where salaries were lower than average, women remain slightly behind their male counterparts on all rank levels in salary earned. At full professor, men earn on average \$7,491 per year more than women holding the same rank. For example, in the 1994-95 school year, men at full professorship earned an average of \$64,046 while women at the same position earned just \$56,555.¹² At the associate rank the salary differential was \$3,079 and at the

assistant rank the salaries of males exceeded the women by \$2,571.¹³ Much of this discrepancy in earnings may be explained by the length of time males and females have held their positions. That is, women tend to be junior on many faculties whereas men tend to be somewhat older and have slightly more years since their highest degree and have spent more years in their current rank. The variation was also evident in the instructor/lecturer classifications—with male instructors earning about \$1,456 per year than their female counterparts.¹⁴ Women are steadily attempting to bridge these gaps.

The statistics also indicate a similarity in rank classifications of minorities. In the fall of 1993, 545,706 full time faculty and instructional staff (male and female) were employed by colleges and universities.¹⁵ The overwhelming majority, 86 percent (468,770) of faculty and instructional staff were white, not of Hispanic origin. Approximately 4.7 percent (25,658) were African American, 4.63 percent (25,269) were Asian American, and 2.2 percent (12,076) were Hispanic American.¹⁶ The majority of those in minority classifications are also congregated at the lower ranking positions. For example, while the majority of white faculty members (53 percent) occupied full and associate professor positions, the majority of positions (58 percent) held by minorities were in the lower ranking positions of assistant professor, instructor and lecturer positions.¹⁷ The numbers are even more remarkable when comparing white males and minority numbers. White males occupy 57 percent of all faculty positions nationally—75 percent of all full professorships and 61.5 percent of all associate professorships.¹⁸ By comparison, the minority of white males 38.5 percent occupied the lower ranking positions (e.g. assistant professor, instructor and lecturer), while 58.5 percent of the minorities occupied these positions.¹⁹ Thus, given the noticeably small number of minorities in teaching positions in American colleges and universities and their concentration in lower ranking positions, these groups will also be deeply impacted by any changes in the granting of tenure through rising standards or its complete abolishment. Just as high ranking women faculty are necessary to the success rates of female students, it is also important to have an ethnically diverse faculty members occupying high-ranking positions.

Efforts to diversify are endangered by the current national debate to abolish tenure.²⁰ The era could be nearing an end where the tenured professors are simply left alone to do what they do best—teach, pursue research and scholarly quests. More productivity and accountability are the proffered reasons for the cresting movement. Withdrawal of future grants of tenure would leave the larger mass of women struggling in the lower ranks with no expectation of receiving what the majority of their male colleagues already enjoy—the benefit of long-term job security and full academic freedom. Tenure provides assurance that the freedom to pursue and write the truth untempered by political restraints will not be hindered.²¹ The tenure process is rigorous and

demanding. Untenured faculty members are constantly reviewed and critiqued. The quantity and quality of all work is scrutinized by the faculty to determine whether a grant of tenure will be recommended.²² But, the grant of tenure brings new freedom and motivation to tackle controversial, unpopular and ground-breaking issues which need to be addressed. It is from this vantage point that one can most effectively challenge accepted norms and practices and inject new ideas into the academy. Issues of accountability and productivity must be addressed but through the proper process—one of annual review and evaluation. Incentives for salary increases and other perks can provide a framework within which an evaluation process may reward productivity. Without tenure, faculty members are working as full-time temporary employees unable to exercise the full citizenship rights in the academy. If the granting of tenure is abolished and those with tenure are allowed to retain that preferred status, only retirement and separation for other reasons over an extended period would eventually balance this power inequity. Moreover, many institutions are revising and raising tenure standards. This presents a troubling coincidence as these changes in position are being initiated during the same time span in which the numbers of women entering the profession are increasing. Raising tenure standards or abolishing future grants of tenure altogether, not only will adversely impact women faculty, but it would also adversely impact the students who will become tomorrow's professionals.²³ Female students will be particularly disadvantaged. There is considerable evidence that female students identify with and derive more academic support from faculty members of their own sex. Because the ratio of female faculty to female students is less than that of male faculty to male students in many areas of study, women students are at a severe disadvantage in finding female mentors with which they can identify. This disadvantage seems to increase at the graduate level where, in some areas of study, both women students and faculty presently constitute a small minority. Few women faculty to support these students can be detrimental to female students' overall educational experience and it can adversely affect the number of these students who ultimately succeed and achieve their academic goals.²⁴ High-ranking women faculty members can potentially provide women students with mentors and role models whom the students perceive as being more successful.²⁵ Add the effect that small numbers of women faculty in higher ranks has on female students with the additional fact that these women students also face the prospect of being hired for lower level jobs and receiving less pay than their male peers upon graduation, and one can predict the continuance of a dual labor market. However, the issue of mentoring must be raised with some caution. Women are expected to mother and to nurture, so we must be careful not to become known as the best "adviser," "counselor," or "comforter" on our faculty. The label may somehow suggest that it is only in the mentoring role that we offer expertise, when in fact we offer so much more to our community. The presence of women and minorities in academia provides a model for the students entering a society which is more and more diverse each day. Personal interaction with intelligent and suc-

cessful members of all backgrounds, races, cultures, different from our own improves our ability to see people as people. This process allows us to discover the many similarities and to move beyond focusing on the external differences. Diversity then becomes central to maintaining an intellectually challenging, yet supportive environment that benefits all students.

A supportive environment is crucial to a student's success in academics. This environment should be filled with challenges and high expectations and one in which the contributions of each person are encouraged and valued. The majority of students will feel self-assured, or derive a sense of identity from the presence of professors of similar backgrounds. Others will be left questioning what they or others like them can contribute to their chosen profession. This questioning process may lead to a loss of confidence. At any level, energy devoted to this type of thought process is a time-consuming distraction that interferes with the concentration needed for successful study.

Raising tenure standards or abolishing future grants of tenure altogether will only serve to contribute to the continuing absence of women and minorities in higher education. Now more than ever, it is critical women and minorities occupy tenured positions on college faculties. Their presence provides women, minorities and even non-minorities in higher education with models of diversity. All too often (though this may to a certain extent be more true for minorities than for women), female and minority children have had limited exposure to people like themselves who are in positions of authority. Thus, the presence of these groups on college faculties can serve as role models to female and minority students and give them an opportunity to see examples of people like themselves who have succeeded in academic circles. Furthermore, the presence of females and minorities in high ranking faculty positions will serve to discredit the assumption by students and faculty "that scholarship and academic excellence are the sole province of white male faculty" and that to have a competent professor who happens to be female or a minority is an exception rather than the rule. This is especially important in order to breakdown prevailing white privilege and to dispel stereotypes that white students, who come from a background where the majority of women or minorities around them occupied subservient roles, may have about these particular groups of people.

Our institutions must assume some responsibility for preparing women and minority students to assume leadership positions in our society. Differences in cultural background, perspectives and experiences of teachers all contribute to the educational process of students. Thus, it is important that, before students take leadership roles in society, they are exposed to professors of both genders and many ethnic groups. This exposure will assist in dispelling any perceptions that women and minorities are intellectually inferior to whites, lest these perceptions and stereotypes be per-

petuated. The provision of institutional support for the scholarship of females and minorities is also important. We need females and minorities at the forefront of national debates which impact them as a group—professors have always played this role through their research and scholarly writings. This is especially important now more than ever due to on-going debates on issues which directly impact the lives of so many women. Debates which include the dismantling of Affirmative Action programs and/or policies and welfare reform would not be complete without the inclusion of both of these groups.

ENDNOTES

1. The U.S. Supreme Court held that "professors authority in academic matters is absolute." *National Labor Relations Board v. Yeshiva University*, 100 S. Ct. 856 (1980).
2. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, *Full-time Faculty and Staff in Postsecondary Institutions*, 1981.
3. *Ibid.*, *Full-time Faculty and Staff in Postsecondary Institutions*, 1991.
4. *Ibid.*, *Full-time Tenured Faculty*, 1987.
5. *Ibid.*, *Full-time Instructional Faculty in Institutions of Higher Education*, Fall 1993.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, *Digest of Educational Statistics*, 1996.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.* at Table 229.
13. *Ibid.* at Table 229.
14. *Ibid.* at Table 229.
15. *Ibid.* at Table 221.
16. *Ibid.* at Table 221.
17. *Ibid.* at Table 221.
18. *Ibid.* at Table 221.
19. *Ibid.* at Table 221.
20. See, "More Faculty Members Question Value of Tenure", *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, Vol. XLIII, No. 9, pp. A12.
21. James E. Perley, "Tenure Remains Vital to Academic Freedom", *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, Vol. XLIII, No. 30, pp. A48.
22. *Ibid.* Perley at A48.
23. Helen M. Berg and Mariane A. Ferber, "Men and Women Graduate Students—Who Succeeds and Why?", 54 *Journal of Higher Ed.*, No.6, pp. 630-631 (Dec. 1983).
24. *Ibid.* Berg and Ferber, at 639.
25. A body of social science literature discusses gender issues in American educational institutions. See generally, Beverly I. Fagot, "Male and Female Teachers: Do They Treat Boys and Girls Differently?" 7 *Sex Roles* 263 (1981); Richard S. Prawat and Robert Jarvis, "Gender Difference as a Factor in Teachers' Perception of Students," 72 *Jour. Educ. Psychology* 743 (1980) and Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982).

Gender Equity: In and Out of the Classroom

An Interactive Presentation

Carolyn C. Thorsen, Molly Weinburgh, and Carolyn H. Wierson



As campuses become increasingly diverse, it is imperative that faculty understand the nature and implications of their interactions with students. What might have been considered acceptable communication styles in the past may no longer be appropriate as we work to encourage and enable all students, faculty and staff, regardless of gender, ethnicity, or age, to reach their maximum potential.

"Gender Equity: In and Out of the Classroom" is an interactive workshop created primarily for science and engineering faculties at the Georgia Institute of Technology, but used successfully with faculty from other disciplines. It is designed to raise awareness levels and to create a desire to change practices, not only in the classroom, but in all campus interactions between faculty and staff and students. Classroom strategies that are effective with women students and strategies for best practice in teaching are virtually synonymous in the research literature.

The purpose of this workshop is to provide a workshop model that can help create a more hospitable learning and working environment and which can be adapted to any campus setting.

Through the use of activities and interactive videotapes, the presenters

- showed data that illustrates the need to change the climate for women in science or technical fields;
- provided information about research that shows how faculty inadvertently treat male and female students differently in the classroom, such as calling on and encouraging the men to participate and discouraging the women from doing so;

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- demonstrated how these behaviors, as well as other types of differential treatment of men and women, can have long-term negative effects, undermining self-esteem, affecting choice of courses and careers, and limiting career aspirations;
- shared specific strategies for improving equity and effectiveness in and out of the classroom.

At Georgia Tech, forty workshops were conducted in 1996-97, led by faculty or staff facilitators. Because the effort was strongly supported by the deans of all five colleges, nearly 600 faculty and staff participated.

"We can no longer afford to disregard half our potential scientists and science-literate citizens of the next generation," (Sadker & Sadker, 1992). The current low participation of women in areas of science and engineering is a national concern. Yet, on too many college campuses, women are driven out of these courses of study by well-meaning faculty who unwittingly discourage them. Faculty who understand the factors that deter and discourage young women students are able to use strategies that create more inviting and hospitable environments for all of their students. This workshop model can help bring about such changes.

These workshops were co-sponsored by InGEAR, Integrating Gender Equity and Reform, a project supported in part by the National Science Foundation.

Gender Equity: In and Out Of The Classroom
A Workshop for Faculty

AGENDA

- 8:00 a.m. Welcome and Introductions**
Logistics of Workshop; hand out Gender Quotient Quiz (5 minutes)
- Why are we here?**
Emphasize interactions with students/ the culture on campus, how the students observe interactions between staff and staff, staff and faculty, staff and students/how staff have many opportunities to exhibit equitable behavior, and to really influence students' experiences on campus. Allow for feedback from audience. (10 minutes)
- 8:15 a.m. Gender Quotient Quiz**
Complete individually then discuss, first in small groups to reach consensus, then large group discussion. (20 minutes)
- 8:35 a.m. Data Presentation**
Present Illinois Valedictorian Study, National degree data, Tech degree data, Tech faculty data, Tech staff data, succeed survey data. (15 minutes)
- 8:50 a.m. EEOC Guidelines and Available Workshops by the Office of Human Relations**
Explain continuum from sexist attitudes through inequitable behavior, to sexual harassment. While we are talking about the more subtle stuff, years of being beaten down by inequitable attitudes and behavior makes women less able to stand up to more important issues. (5 minutes)
- 8:55 a.m. Skit**
Student Visit to Faculty Advisor, or role playing, or case studies with thought provoking discussions (30 minutes)
- 9:25 a.m. Analyzing Teaching**
Classroom Coding using the Sadker Intersect Instrument
- What's the point**
Recap of how (even bright) women reach a low level of self-esteem in their sophomore year of college (Ill. valedictorian study), women are in a minority in science and eng. advanced education nationally and on campus here (statistical national and tech data presentation), climate/culture has a real role in why women leave these fields (review of why women leave), we CAN make a difference. (5 minutes)
- 10:05 a.m. Warming the Chilly Climate**
Strategies for Change
- Planning for the Future**
Discussion/Brainstorm- Discuss and encourage brainstorming on how the staff on campus can help. (30 minutes)
- 10:30 a.m. Adjourn**

What is your Gender Awareness Quotient (GAQ)?

How much do you know about how men and women communicate with one another? How much do you know about the Georgia Tech campus? The 12 items in this questionnaire are based on research conducted in classrooms, private homes, businesses, offices, hospitals - the places where people commonly work and socialize - and at Georgia Tech [7-12]. If you think a statement is generally an accurate description of female and male communication patterns or of the Georgia Tech campus, mark it true. If you think it is not an accurate description, mark it false.

	True	False
1. Men are more likely to interrupt women than they are to interrupt other men.	☐	☐
2. When people hear generic words such as "mankind" and "he," they respond inclusively, indicating that the terms apply to both sexes.	☐	☐
3. When a male speaks, he is listened to more carefully than a female speaker, even when she makes the identical presentation.	☐	☐
4. In general, women speak in a more tentative style than do men.	☐	☐
5. Women are more likely to answer questions that are not addressed to them.	☐	☐
6. In classroom communications, teachers are more likely to give verbal praise to females than to male students.	☐	☐

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At Georgia Tech:

7. The retention rate is higher for men students than women students.	☐	☐
8. The College of Engineering has the highest number of women faculty of the five Colleges.	☐	☐
9. The first woman student graduated from Georgia Tech in 1945.	☐	☐
10. Over 80% of the clerical and secretarial staff is composed of women.	☐	☐
11. Over 20% of the technical and paraprofessional staff is composed of women.	☐	☐
12. In the fall quarter 1995, only three women held the rank of full professor in the College of Sciences.	☐	☐

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Answers to Gender Awareness Quotient

1. True.

When women talk with other women, interruptions are evenly distributed. When men talk with other men, interruptions are evenly distributed. However, when men and women talk with one another, almost all interruptions are by male speakers. Sociologists Candace West and Donald Zimmerman analyzed conversations in university settings both on and off campus. They found that males interrupt females much more often than they interrupt other males and more often than females interrupt either males or females. These sociologists think that interrupting is a way of exercising power. They say, "Here we are dealing with a class of speakers, females, whose right to speak appears to be casually infringed upon by males."

2. False.

Terms such as "mankind," "man" and "he" are supposed to be generic and are presumed to include both men and women. Research shows that this isn't really the case. People are more literal in their thinking. Studies with elementary, secondary, and college students show that when the supposed generic term, "man," is used people envision males, even when the content implies both men and women. In another study, students illustrated supposedly generic references (e.g., urban man) with male pictures more than they did when the references were neutral (e.g., urban life). Other researchers found that when male generic nouns and pronouns were used to describe the job of psychologist, female students described the job as less attractive to them than when sex neutral terms were used. Women who were exposed to the feminine generic (she to include everybody) reported feelings of pride, importance and power. And yet another researcher reports that when an applicant for an executive position was described as a girl, subjects rated her as less "tough," "mature," "brilliant," and dignified, and they gave her approximately \$6,000 less in salary than when the word "woman" was used.

3. True.

Both female and male members of audiences pay more attention to male speakers than female speakers. Audience members recall more information from presentations given by males. This appears to occur whether the information is stereotyped as appropriate for males or stereotyped as associated with females. And it occurs even when male and female speakers make an identical presentation.

4. True.

According to linguist Robin Lakoff, "women's language" is characterized by certain patterns:

- making statements that end in a questioning intonation or putting tag questions at the end of declarative sentences (This is a good movie, isn't it?)
- using qualifiers such as "kind of" or "I guess"
- excessively polite speech
- use of "empty adjectives" (divine or lovely) and use of "so" with adjectives (so thoughtful)

While not all studies support Lakoff's notion of women's speech, several show that women do express themselves with more diffidence and less assertion than men. Many researchers claim that tentative speech patterns do not characterize the speech of women so much as they characterize the speech of those who lack power. For example, one group of researchers analyzed communication in a police station. They found that both male and female clients who came to the station were more likely to use "women's language" than were either male or female police personnel. There are consequences to using "women's language." Both men and women who speak in a tentative, non-assertive style are less likely to be believed by a jury. In fact, there was a time when women were not allowed to read the news over the air because they were perceived to lack credibility or authority.

5. False.

Men manage to capture more than their fair share of talk time. Sometimes women actually help men gain this advantage because they are more likely to ask questions while men are more likely to give answers. However, men often take this advantage for themselves by interrupting women and by answering questions that are not addressed to them.

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6. False.

Although girls get better grades than boys, they receive less verbal praise from teachers. When girls do get praise from teachers, it is likely to be for neatness and appearance. ("That's an attractive paper." "You have very neat handwriting.") In contrast, when boys get praise, it is more likely to be for the intellectual quality of their ideas. Not only do teachers praise boys more, but they also criticize them more, ask them more questions, and give them more attention in general.

Sadker, M., Sadker, D. and J. Kaser, *The Communications Gender Gap*. The Mid-Atlantic Center for Sex Equity, The American University, School of Education, Washington, D.C., 1985

Sadker, D., & Sadker, M. (1994). *Failing at Fairness: How America's Schools Cheat Girls*. New York, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

7. False.

Based on 1995 data from the Registrar's office, the retention rate for women students is greater. The retention rate includes both students who have graduated and those who are still enrolled. For example, out of the freshmen class of 1992, 70% of the men were still enrolled and 1% graduated by the fall of 1995; 79% of the women were still enrolled and 1% graduated by the fall of 1995.

8. False.

According to the 1995 Fact Book, the 7% (21) of the faculty in the College of Engineering are women and 29% (40) of the faculty in the Ivan Allen College are women.

9. False.

According to the 1995 Fact Book, the first two women graduates from Georgia Tech received their degrees in 1956.

10. True.

According to fall 1995 data from the Office of Human Resources, 89% of the 444 staff members classified as clerical or secretarial staff were women.

11. True

According to fall 1995 data from the Office of Human Resources, 21% of the 185 staff members classified as technical or paraprofessional were women.

12. False.

According to the 1995 Fact Book, no women held the rank of full professor in the College of Sciences.

Warming the Chilly Climate Gender Equity In and Out of the Classroom

As an Individual

- Adopt gender free language.
- Eliminate jokes, stories, etc., that minimize or objectify women.
- Develop analogies, metaphors etc., for both genders.
- When you talk to both men and women, look equally at both genders.
- Listen to women as carefully as you do to men.
- When you interrupt, apologize.
- When a woman offers an idea, consider it before rejecting or ignoring it.
- Ask for women's opinions on issues and then listen to them.
- Ask questions that expand your understanding of an idea that a woman has proposed.
- Refrain from too quickly offering solutions to a woman who may have indicated a concern.
- Use inclusive non verbal behaviors.
- Address men and women with parallel terms.

As an Administrator

- Create a climate that is respectful of women and men—your behavior is watched.
- Assign women faculty to significant committees.
- Do not assign a woman to a committee because "she is a woman."
- Monitor women faculty to ensure they are not given an unfair work load.
- Insist that job announcements be placed where women may see them and think of themselves.
- Document faculty teaching loads, salary increases, promotions, tenure, etc. to establish equity.
- Actively recruit women for faculty and provide adequate support when they accept so they can succeed.
- Establish procedures and policies that consider needs of both genders.
- Ask men to take notes and make copies in same proportion as women.
- Encourage women to develop potential.
- Consider flex time and job sharing as viable job alternatives.
- Go to women rather than expecting them to come to you.

As a Professor

- On first day of class, tell them you expect all students to participate equally over the course of the class and follow through.
- Call women by name and refer to students' contributions by name.
- Call on women directly even if they don't raise their hands.
- Call on men and women in roughly the same proportions.
- After asking a question, wait 5-10 seconds for hands to go up.
- Coach women as well as men with comments and questions such as "Tell me More," "why do you think that is?"
- Watch for women's nonverbal cues, such as leaning forward and then engage them.
- When students deserve it, offer praise equally to men and women.
- Keep a teaching diary, and record which students are contributing and which are not.
- Use the same tone when talking to women students as when talking to men.
- Remember the "power of the professor."

The Power of the Professor

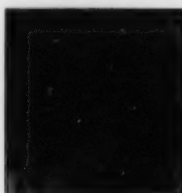
"Let people realize clearly
that every time they threaten someone
or humiliate or hurt unnecessarily
or dominate or reject another human being,
they become forces for the
creation of psychopathology,
even if these be small forces.

Let them recognize that every human being
who is kind, helpful, decent, psychologically democratic,
affectionate, and warm is a psychotherapeutic force,
even though a small one."

Abraham Maslow

A Study of Sexual Harassment of Faculty In Higher Education

Sharon A. Latkovich and Eric J. Akers



Definition of Sexual Harassment

The heart of the sexual harassment debate centers on the utter confusion as to what constitutes sexual harassment. The lack of a commonly accepted or 'street' definition of sexual harassment has contributed to the non-recognition and underreporting of sexual harassment, according to Dey, Korn, and Sax (1996). Betts and Newman's study (as cited in Dey et al., 1996) specifically addressed different definitions of sexual harassment in higher education. They concluded that sexual harassment is a continuum of six behavioral components, ranging from verbal harassment or abuse (least severe) to the demand for sexual favors accompanied by subtle or overt promises/threats with regard to employment (the most severe) (p. 151).

With such a wide ranging disparity in defining sexual harassment, it is useful to look at those characteristics on which there is agreement:

- (1) The behavior is unwanted or unwelcome.
- (2) The behavior is sexual or related to the sex or gender of the person.
- (3) The behavior occurs in context of a relationship where one person has more power, be it formal (i.e., faculty and students) or informal (i.e., peers). (Sandler & Shoop, 1997, p. 5)

Reasonable Person

The courts have held that the unwanted/unwelcome characteristic is as perceived by the victim. This distinction is central to the determination of the severity of the harassment (EEOC, 1997, 969). The victim's perception of unwelcomeness is evaluated by *Harris v. Forklift Systems*, 1993.

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According to Justice O'Connor,

Title VII bars conduct that would seriously affect a reasonable person's psychological well-being but the statute is not limited to such conduct. So long as the environment would be reasonably perceived, and is perceived as hostile or abusive, there is no need for it also to be psychologically injurious (*Harris v. Forklift Systems*, 1993).

Therewith, Justice O'Connor's majority opinion reaffirmed the reasonable person standard and relaxed the evidentiary requirement of the victim to prove psychological harm. However while Justice Scalia concurred, he noted the practical difficulties inherent in the decision. As proof of Scalia's comments, Vidugiris (Men's Issues Page, 1995) claimed that the Harris decision proves that "Sexual harassment does apply only to the workplace ... many colleges are trying to impose this upon students, and legally the rationale does not holdup." Also, Vidugiris maintained that Justice Scalia dissented when the Justice actually concurred with the majority (*Harris v. Forklift Systems*, 1993), offering further testimony as to the validity of Vidugiris' opinions.

A judge in the Ninth Circuit went one step further and defined that behavior is considered sexual harassment if a "reasonable woman" would consider it as such (*Ellison v. Brady*, 1991). Judge Robert Beezer stated, "Men, who are rarely victims of sexual assault, may view sexual conduct in a vacuum without a full appreciation of the social setting or the underlying threat of violence that a woman may perceive" (as cited in Sandler & Shoop, 1997, p. 6). By comparison, the Sixth Circuit uses the reasonable woman standard to evaluate the severity of sexual harassment when the victim is a female, yet applies a "reasonable man" standard when the victim is a male. Thus, the use of the reasonable person/woman/man standard varies by court.

Title VII

Ultimately, federal courts look to the statutory standard, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which is administered by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to administer Title VII. The 1972 amendments to Title VII granted plaintiffs the right to sue the harasser in federal district court. The 1991 amendments expanded the right to sue to include compensatory damages in cases of intentional discrimination, and punitive for malice or reckless indifference on the part of the employer; it also included the right to a jury trial. In the five-year period following the 1991 amendments, the number of charges filed against colleges and universities increased 62%, as opposed to a 37% increase for business in general (Kontorovich, 1996).

The EEOC guidelines specify three characteristics of unlawful sexual harassment:

- (1) The conduct is either an explicit or implicit term or condition of employment.
- (2) Submission to, or rejection of, the conduct is used as a basis for an employment decision [or academic decision] affecting the person rejecting or submitting to the conduct.

(3) The conduct has the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering, directly or indirectly, with an affected person's work [or academic] performance, or of creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive work [or academic] environment.

The first two characteristics are referred to as quid pro quo harassment; the latter is considered hostile environment.

Hostile Environment

While more prevalent, hostile environment harassment is often harder to prove. An employee may demonstrate that there is sexually hostile work environment without proving blatant sexual misconduct (EEOC, 1997). The key to hostile environment claims is whether it was severe enough to interfere with the plaintiff's ability to work. Generally, a single event or behavior does not constitute a violation; a hostile environment claim requires a consistent pattern of behavior. The more severe the behavior, the less the need to prove frequency. As mentioned earlier, the test of severity has evolved in the reasonable person/woman/man standard. However central to the EEOC guidelines is whether the harassment would substantially affect the work environment (EEOC, 1997, 915.050). Also, the person who creates a hostile environment does not have to possess power over the victim. Thus, coworker-on-coworker, student-on-student, and student-on-faculty situations are possible hostile environments (Shoop, 1997, p. 27).

The landmark case that defined hostile environment was *Meritor Savings Bank FSB v. Vinson* (1986). In *Meritor*, the district court denied relief based on the then prevailing interpretation of sexual harassment as quid pro quo. However, the US Supreme Court reversed the lower court, finding a violation of Title VII by hostile environment. In Chief Justice Rehnquist's written opinion, three key precepts were established:

- (1) The unwelcome standard was established; the voluntary nature of a victim's participation was found to be immaterial;
- (2) Employer's liability was ascertained as absolute; the employer knew or should have known of the sexual harassment; and
- (3) Non-economic injury was determined to be actionable.

Quid Pro Quo

Quid pro quo is defined as a promise or threat (i.e., promotion, raise, grade) conditioned on a specific action, namely a sexual act. "Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature constitute sexual harassment when submission to such conduct is made either explicitly or implicitly a term of condition of an individual's

employment. ... [or] submission to or rejection of such conduct by an individual is used as the basis for employment decisions affecting such individual" (EEOC, 1997, 1604.11a). While such cases were the initial legal definition of sexual harassment, they are the least frequent kind of sexual harassment. "One critical aspect of quid pro quo is that a single event constitutes a violation, as held by the courts" (Shoop, 1997, p. 26).

Agency Liability of Employers

Employers are less likely to be held liable for hostile environment than quid pro quo, using agency theory. Agency principles, as defined by the EEOC guidelines (1997), hold employers liable for acts of sexual harassment committed by any individual(s) who conducts business on behalf of the employer. This includes all levels of employees, such as faculty, staff, and administrators, and even non-employees, such as vendors, students, and guests, in certain circumstances. Furthermore, the courts have held that employers are liable if they should have known of the conduct, whether or not they were notified or had an established policy, and they failed to take timely and appropriate action.

Title IX

The preceding description of Title VII, enforced by the EEOC, is the focus of sexual harassment of faculty. By contrast, Title IX protects sexual harassment of students. It is enforced by the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) of the US Department of Education.

The OCR (Title IX) characteristics of sexual harassment mirror those of the EEOC guidelines listed earlier. Hostile environment is behavior which severely limits a student's ability to participate in educational environment. Quid pro quo is considered conditional sexual harassment. In evaluating these guidelines, the OCR recommends that the student's age and maturity be taken into consideration, especially as to the application of the unwelcome test (DOE, 1997a).

State Statute

Some plaintiffs have chosen to file sexual harassment claims under state civil rights laws (also known as a tort claim) to avoid more onerous statutory filing requirements, or to take advantage of broader state common law contract remedies. Further, the decision as to what action to assert, breach of contract or tort damages, may be influenced by the higher level of tort damages. The standard for employer liability in state courts is if the employer's conduct is sufficiently extreme, outrageous, or atrocious (e.g., *Rogers v. Loews L'Enfant Plaza Hotel*, 1981). Also, the legal theory of respondeat superior (i.e., the employer should have known) applies. Employers have been held liable for both compensatory and punitive damages, although

some courts have limited punitive to where officers or directors were involved in the sexual harassment conduct.

Sexual Harassment Policies

"Eliminating sexual harassment in higher education cannot be achieved without implementing effective policies and procedures at institutions" (Dey et al., 1996, 170). Both Title VII (EEOC, 1997) and Title IX (DOE, 1997) require employers or schools to have a stated policy regarding sexual harassment. Because of the language in Title VII, sexual harassment policies protecting faculty are often subsumed in an employer's Fair Employment Practices policy. Thus, the better known educational sexual harassment policies fall under Title IX, the protection of students.

Elements of a Good Policy

The evaluation of such a wide range of sexual harassment policies is difficult at best. Sandler (1997) devoted an entire chapter to good sexual harassment policies in higher education. Her criteria include:

- (1) Commitment: A clear statement that sexual harassment is not tolerated is a key piece of any policy.
- (2) Education: Akin to the initial discussion, Sandler recognized the need to clearly define sexual harassment, describe the different forms it can take, and emphasize the impact to all members of the academic community.
- (3) Procedures/Sanctions: This section of the policy should fully describe the notification and judicial process along with available remedies or sanctions. Details should be provided as to the serious consequences of false charges.
- (4) Encouragement to Come Forward: While a recommended part of the formal policy, encouragement goes to the heart of enforcement; in other words, this part of the policy proves that the sexual harassment statement is more than a piece of paper. To be effective, it must assure victims of strict confidentiality and a prohibition from retaliation, both in word and deed.

Riggs, Murrell, and Cutting (as cited in Dey et al., 1996) used similar attributes to assess a good sexual harassment policy including: comprehensive definition, strong statement of intolerance, communication, education in regards to risks, and procedures. Such a consistent framework in

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defining effective sexual harassment policies will be used to evaluate the sample of sexual harassment policies in this study.

Policy Assessments

Ashland University's (1994) *Rules and Regulations of the Faculty*:

(1) Commitment: The first few pages of the sexual harassment policy seems to echo the rejoinder of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) (1990) to ethical responsibilities and the inherent responsibilities of academic freedom. To wit,

Faculty members, guided by a deep conviction of the worth and dignity of the advancement of knowledge, shall recognize the special responsibilities placed upon them ... Membership in the academic community imposes on students, faculty members, administrators, and trustees an obligation to respect the dignity of others (Ashland University, 1994, pp. 52, 53).

While just under three pages are devoted to such platitudes regarding responsibilities, only one sentence is given to what Sandler (1997) refers to as commitment, "It is the policy of Ashland University that no member of the academic community may sexually harass another and that sexual harassment represents a failure in ethical behavior" (Ashland University, 1994, p. 53). Clarity, in this author's opinion, is lost in the wake of verbal ambiguity over responsibility.

(2) Education: By contrast, quid pro quo and hostile environment are clearly defined within the total academic environment. However, only three examples are cited: sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other conduct of a sexual nature.

(3) Procedures/Sanctions: Informal resolution of the complaint is described in detail, while notice is given of a more detailed complaint procedure in another section of the document. It is interesting to note, however, that false charges are dealt with in the second sentence of the sexual harassment policy section.

(4) Encouragement: Confidentiality of victim and accused is addressed. Retaliation is dealt with in one vague sentence. If more than just a piece of paper is the true test of encouraging victims to come forward, one author had to tell the other that such a sexual harassment policy existed in the oft referred to "Rules and Regs".

Overall, the Ashland University faculty policy (1994) appears to adequately meet Sandler's (1997) criteria, with the noted exception of encouragement in name only.

The corresponding section of the Student Handbook (Ashland University, 1995) is one page in an 82-page handbook. The EEOC's guidelines were used, adapted for academia. Commitment is limited in scope and no examples are cited. Procedures are dealt with in great detail, yet false charges are not mentioned, unlike its prominence in the faculty document. Likewise, confidentiality and retaliation appear to have been given ample treatment. Yet, one page in a handbook that most students do not read cover to cover belies the statements on encouragement.

Fortunately, the Dean of Students took the commitment to the eradication of sexual harassment seriously enough to create a separate pamphlet (Ashland University, 1996). Annually updated, the pamphlet is provided to new traditional students. It amply addresses all of the Sandler criteria, especially the elaboration of EEOC guidelines with examples geared toward students.

However, the student policy, in both handbook and pamphlet formats, neglects to deal with students as the aggressor, or the sexual harassment of anyone other than students. Granted, these are student documents, but student-prohibited activities are addressed. Also given the limited dissemination of the more detailed pamphlet, non-traditional and graduate students, not to mention faculty, are unaware of these documents' existence. Unfortunately, the corollary conclusion must be drawn; if the students who make up the commanding majority of the Ashland University student body are unaware of these publications, then probably, they are unaware of the sexual harassment policy.

At the other end of the spectrum from limited dissemination and the brief student handbook version of the sexual harassment policy is too much detail. Overwhelming students can be just as detrimental. Recently, this end of the sexual harassment policy pendulum was reached at Harvard Law School. The Sexual Harassment Guidelines (as cited by Silverglate, 1996) are comprised of 34 pages. Dershowitz' (1996) defense of Harvard Law's guidelines was based on the verbal sexual harassment of a deceased female faculty member. The dean's response (Clark, 1996) focused on protecting students' rights. Yet, Rosenberg (1996) differs with his esteemed colleagues; he sees the new policy as giving in to political correctness and sacrificing academic freedom.

While Harvard Law may have won the "Take No Chances, Define Everything" award, the University of South Australia (1995) is not far behind. At 20 pages, they codify everything. Of special interest to this study is the half page devoted to those individuals covered by the policy, especially students by staff members, students by other students, and staff members by students. South Australia and Harvard sought the protection of words, the more the better. However, the

danger is the unanticipated behavior or the inadvertent omission. If the policy is so codified, these omissions can serve to protect the harasser, not the victim.

While not as verbose as Harvard Law or South Australia, University of California, San Francisco (UCSF) (1997) took a unique position in publishing their sexual harassment policy on the Web. The Office of Sexual Harassment Prevention has its own home page with hypertext links to 12 other pages. Each element in Sandler's criteria appears to be effectively addressed.

George Mason (1994) has only ten pages in its sexual harassment policy. Commitment is up front and clearly stated, with special notice taken of the University Equity Officer. Direct quotes from both the EEOC (1997) and the OCR (1997) guidelines are supplemented by extensive examples. In fact, the statement addresses female harassers, male victims, and same-sex harassers. Over seven pages are given to procedures and sanctions, including a lengthy diatribe on confidentiality.

By comparison, Seton Hall School of Law's Policy on Sexual Harassment (n.d.) weighs in at a measly two pages. Sandler's commitment is addressed clearly in a preamble on catholic values. One of the most encompassing definitions of applicability is presented, including vendors, guests on campus, and those involved in the extension and off-campus programs. Education is also given thorough treatment by the adaptation of the EEOC guidelines along with several examples. Much is made of the University Council Against Sexual Harassment but detail on the actual procedures is short in supply. Confidentiality is given one sentence and there is no mention of retaliation. Therefore, Seton Hall's level of Sandler's encouragement standard appears to be deficient.

Faculty Cases of Sexual Harassment

The overall confusion as to what is sexual harassment, the patchwork of different legal precedents, the fact that sexual harassment policies for faculty are often a hidden subset of other university policies — all of these factors have contributed to the low rate of faculty seeking legal redress. The following chronological list of cases is based on an extensive search of Nexis/Lexis, a legal database; reference citations based on Title VII and relevant state statutes; and AAUW's Legal Advocacy Fund (LAF) cases.

SUNY - Albany v. State Human Rights Appeal Board et al. (1981)

A female assistant professor filed a complaint with New York's State Human Rights Appeal Board under the Board's Article 78. Article 78 deals with procedural irregularities in the tenure process, yet the victim alleged sexual harassment and discrimination by her male department chair. The

professor presented evidence that the chairman harassed several females, and everyone knew about it. The state board awarded \$5,000 in compensatory damages and the university appealed to the Appellate Division of New York's Supreme Court. The court reversed the board, finding that the doctrine of respondeat superior did not apply.

Howard University v. Marie L. Best (1984)

A terminated female faculty member presented a prima facie case of sexual harassment against her dean. The Supreme Court for the District of Columbia directed a verdict for the plaintiff, entered judgment on a jury award of damages, and took cross appeals. The Court of Appeals affirmed the sexual harassment claim against the university. It was found to be actionable due to the outrageous and extreme nature of the harassment; that the professor was the only female faculty in the college; and that the sexual harassment was directly linked with the infliction of emotional distress. The court held the university liable as the dean was an agent of the university.

Jew v. University of Iowa (1990)

In 1973, Jean Jew, M.D. took a research post-graduate position with the University of Iowa, following her mentor, Terrence Williams. Her male colleagues called her, "a stupid slut, a dumb bitch, a whore, and a chink" in addition to starting rumors of an affair. By the time she was eligible for promotion to full professor, Williams had resigned. On a departmental promotion committee, two members had made some of the offensive slurs; another thought she had received preferential treatment denied to him; yet another was heard to remark, "women and blacks have it made" (Chamallas, 1997, p. 250).

Jew had complained numerous times, but was told by key administration officials "that nothing could be done. Things would only be worse. As a single woman in Iowa City, she lived in a goldfish bowl" (Chamallas, 1997, p. 250). After denial of promotion, she and her lawyer agreed to an investigative panel of three faculty members. The panel concluded that she had been harassed and recommended immediate administrative action. The university never implemented the panel's recommendations, nor did it attempt to repair her reputation.

Eventually, Jew filed suit against the university in district court and against one of the male professors in state court. The university paid the legal fees and awards in both cases. The university's defense strategy was that Jew had provoked the harassment by attempting to prove that there had been an affair. The state jury awarded Jew \$5,000 in compensatory damages and \$30,000 in punitive damages. Federal District Court Judge Vietor ruled that the university must distribute the court's opinion and the earlier panel's report to all top University top officials, all College of

Medicine department heads, and all faculty and staff in the department of anatomy. He also ordered her retroactive promotion to full professor, along with back pay.

Despite the court ordered dissemination of information, the university pursued an appeal to the Eighth Circuit. A diverse coalition of individuals who were incensed by the appeal fostered a groundswell of opinion against the university. The parties reached a settlement one month after the appeal was filed. Jew received the original settlements plus her attorney's fees. The president issued a short, formal statement, but no action was ever taken against the male professor who had slandered Jew.

Salinas v. University of Texas - Pan American et al. (1996)

A male lecturer at Texas filed for U.S. Supreme Court review of a Fifth Circuit decision. The Fifth Circuit rejected his claim that the university refused to investigate a false sexual harassment claim against him and placed an erroneous reprimand in his personnel file.

Emily Bryson v. Chicago State University et al. (1996)

The former provost made sexually suggestive and derogatory comments to a tenured full professor and attempted physical contact, on several occasions. In one incident in May 1992, he allegedly made a quid pro quo demand. Despite a prestigious administrative fellowship, she was relegated to entry level work. She filed a grievance with her union, resulting in a retention of her former job responsibilities, but was denied further action. She brought a claim in district court, alleging both quid pro quo and hostile environment sexual harassment. The court ruled for the defendants, based on the lack of proof of loss of tangible employment benefits. The professor appealed to the Seventh Circuit. The Seventh Circuit reversed the lower court's decision in regards to Chicago State, but dismissed claims against the former provost based on agency theory.

Grudzinski v. UC - Irvine Medical Center (AAUW, 1996a; AAUW, 1997a)

Grudzinski was a first-year surgical resident in urology at the University of California-Irvine (UC-Irvine). A chief resident as well as an attending male physician made outrageously crude remarks, such as, "You will definitely see bigger and better pricks in your [urology] career than your husband's" (cited in AAUW Outlook, 1996 p. 49). Her complaints to administration fell on deaf ears. Eventually, her reaction to the offensive comments turned into work environment limitations; and ultimately, she was fired from the second year of her residency. She accepted an offer to resume her clinical residency at UCSF, but that was nullified due to an interceding phone call from another UC school, UC-Irvine.

Her official complaint with the graduate academic accrediting arm of the American Medical Association resulted in probation for UC - Irvine. She filed suit in district court in December of 1995; depositions were taken in November 1996.

***Melez v. University of California, Los Angeles* (AAUW, 1996b; AAUW, 1997b)**

Melez had joined the UCLA Medical faculty to complete a National Institute of Health fellowship in pediatric infectious diseases. When she complained of alleged hostile environment in the lab, her supervisor withdrew his support of her professional advancement. In response to her internal grievance, UCLA demanded that she agree to drop all charges. She refused and was subsequently fired (AAUW, 1997). She filed suit in district court in 1993; the trial was held in November of 1996; and she is currently pursuing an appeal.

Outstanding Issues

Some of the outstanding legal issues surrounding sexual harassment are: the different interpretations of *Harris v. Forklift Systems* (1993) in regards to the reasonable person/woman/man standard; the determination of severity; and same-sex harassment.

Up until very recently, the various courts have taken different positions on this latter issue. However, it was recently announced that the U.S. Supreme Court had agreed to review the Fifth Circuit's dismissal of *Oncale v. Sundowner Offshore Services* (1995). The Fifth Circuit ruled that Joseph Oncale's claim of sexual harassment was not actionable under Title VII because Title VII did not apply to same-sex harassment (Supreme Court, 1997). Oncale worked with an all-male crew on an offshore oil rig in the Gulf of Mexico. He resigned after being grabbed, having others expose themselves, and being threatened with rape.

Another issue is the limited and faulty research on sexual harassment of faculty. One serious error has been the use of small convenience samples (McKinney, 1990). Dey et al.'s work (1996) is the first to address this issue. Their study used the 1992-1993 Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) Faculty Survey which produced a sample size of 29,771 faculty, 9,402 of whom were female.

A related issue is the derivation of conclusions based on sex as a main effect or the interaction of sex with other variables such as academic rank (Dey et al., 1996). Further, there is little research that does test for the interaction of sex with other variables, notably race. When research studies employ female-only samples, results have limited generalizability to only women (Grauerholz, 1989).

Additionally, the initial focus of this study, the confusion over what is sexual harassment combined with the better known Title IX protection of students, has yielded few studies of sexual harassment of faculty. McKinney (1990) attempted to address this omission. She coined the term "contrapower harassment" to define the harassment of faculty by students as opposed to colleagues.

Summary and Recommendations

Where do we go from here? The unanswered or unexplored issues could yield research to keep us busy for most of our careers, and therein lies the recommended course of action. This study confirmed that sexual harassment of faculty is far more pervasive than is currently recognized. While improving, few academic institutions are situated so as to identify and respond appropriately to such harassment.

The implications of this research are to provide the impetus for protecting faculty, especially women, from sexual harassment. In the short-term, this study has made a very minor dent in the paucity of research. By enlightening the higher education community, we hope that we have provided a vehicle to begin to address this inequitable and intolerable situation.

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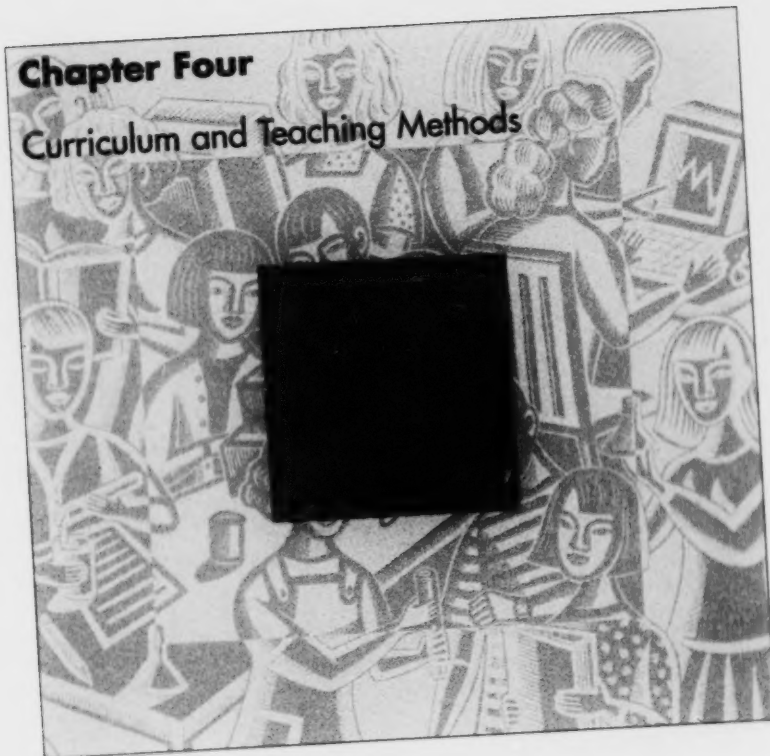
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Chapter Four
Curriculum and Teaching Methods



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Rethinking Identity: Race, Gender and Queer Theory in the Classroom

Sioban Dillon



The term "identity politics," first described pejoratively by Dinesh D'Souza,¹ signals a virulent attack on multicultural objectives by conservative and neoconservative speakers. The politics of identity usually refers to any situation where traditionally underrepresented people organize themselves in order to do political work by aligning on the basis of shared class, race, gender or other "identifying" characteristics. While people find themselves excluded from proper participation in the social system in a myriad of ways, and although not all oppressions are equal, the concept of identity enables people to act against specific injustices and to build coalitions among different alliances. What identity politics, or more correctly, a politics of representation² responds to is the treatment of certain groups as inferior and undeserving despite their continuing social, cultural and economic contributions. Forgetting what such a politics has grown out of and what it continues to address today seems to be yet another example of what Peggy McIntosh has named "white skin privilege," disavowing itself. Many mainstream and Right-wing opponents of multiculturalism charge that the collective bonds forged by groups experiencing similar oppressions privilege too simple or too broad a set of criteria in assembling community under the banner of identity such as "Women" or "African-American." Yet regardless of whether individuals within certain groups fail to identify with others within these groups, "outsiders" inevitably treat individuals as part of larger identities colored by both ideological assumptions and cultural traditions. Therefore, any pejorative notion of "identity politics" must be challenged by appealing to an historical perspective. For example, can we not specify the history of an exclusionary political system as a form of identity politics? Is not "identity politics" being fully operationalized in nepotism or old boy networks? The point here is to challenge the presumption that we only step into identity when we align ourselves consciously and politically with any specified group [read non-white

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male], or when we cross-align ourselves with a number of coalition entities. On the contrary, we are always inscribed with multiple identities which affect where we are positioned before we consciously adopt a name for ourselves as cultural workers.

John Anner writes in *Beyond Identity Politics*: "Identity—racial or otherwise—is a tricky category because it depends so much on choices that are shaped by fluid social circumstances" (7).

Identity has remained the fulcrum on which organized struggles following the Civil Rights' Movement of the '50s and '60s have turned to this day. However, a crisis in terminology has grown out of a number of developments, including the gains won in the name of identities such as race and gender. Certain economic and legal victories have shifted the stakes of these debates. For example, shortly after the Women's Movement aggressively and successfully pursued a campaign to balance power between men and women, it became apparent that while certain women's lives changed tremendously (white, middle-class women's), others' hardly shifted at all. Also, the creation of a more substantial African-American middle-class led to charges that these same people had abandoned their communities of origin for mainstream, suburban lifestyles. Hence, the process of "identification" became problematic as alliances shifted and financial status played a greater role in commanding political loyalties. This, I believe, is what Anner is suggesting in citing "fluidity" as a determining factor in identity formation and re-negotiation.

Theorists who examine how we should utilize identity in order to do political work are evaluating and critiquing the assumptions which are embedded in the concept of identity. Feminism, in conjunction with other theories, continues to contribute much to a rigorous questioning of what identity means. Feminists continue to struggle over the problem of essentialism and constructionist theory, i.e. whether one's identity (as a woman, for example) stems from a pre-existing essence later introduced to social and political frameworks or whether our identities as women are produced by historical configurations which imprint upon us a series of qualities ascribed to women. In *Essentially Speaking: Feminism, Nature & Difference*, Diana Fuss regards identity as a "sometimes abstract and fuzzy notion" which requires historical contextualization in order to successfully engage in political struggles. However, Fuss, like other writers from the Left as well as the Right, seems to conflate identity with essentializing tendencies (not surprisingly, her book argues that essentialism lays the grounds for the essentialism/constructionist debate). She implies that a politics of identity—hinged, as it must be, on some version of essentialism according to Fuss—signals a turn away from the public roots of exploitation that determine people's lives and refigures social problems as personal, psychological and ironically less historical by replacing the earlier, Marxist term "exploitation" with "oppression."³ Other theorists have different problems with a politics of identity. In *Reflecting Black: African-American Cultural Criticism*, Michael Eric Dyson writes: "[T]he

narrative of racial unity has survived mainly as a rhetorical strategy of black intellectuals, artists, and leaders to impose provisional order on the perplexing and chaotic politics of racial identity" (13). And Barbara Christian indirectly points to another outcome of clustering by identity: "Too often race issues are seen as the 'problems' of blacks and people of color, gender issues as the 'problems' of women".⁴ To move beyond the perceived rigidity of identity, Fuss turns to what underlies identity: difference. She points out that "questions of sameness and difference lie at the very heart of traditional metaphysical investigations into the problem of identity" (102). Furthermore, since "identity always contains the specter of non-identity within it, the subject is always divided and identity is always purchased at the price of the exclusion of the Other, the repression or repudiation of non-identity" (102).

The notion of difference profoundly impacts our ability to imagine a truly dynamic multiculturalism within the academy and elsewhere.⁵ It is at this juncture, where difference emerges as a powerful challenge to the logic of identity in writings as varied as Jacques Derrida's and Michelle Wallace's, that the interrogation of the identity/difference structure gathers new force. Difference provides a space in which activists see the potential to facilitate new theories and practices beyond the scope of existing systems. Issues here include whether campus administrators respond to diversity positively by creating working partnerships invested with the power to challenge the old codes, or whether administrators allow racism, sexism, and homophobia to flourish unchecked. Yet difference—like identity—never stands on its own: "differences are always differences in relation, they are never simply free-floating. Differences are not seen as absolute, irreducible, or intractable, but rather as undecidable and socially and culturally relational."⁶ The notion that a classroom, or a society, should no longer be monocultural,⁷ but *should be influenced* by diverse cultures, viewpoints, and values evolves directly from the idea that identity is relational. To represent only the works and ideas from one group with few exceptions, i.e. heterosexual, Anglo-European men and the occasional white woman, denies both the relation of this culture to many others and the existence of those cultures. Multiculturalism insists that diversity must be accounted for in institutions as a practice of remediation for a suppressed multicultural heritage.

In *Between Borders: Pedagogy and the Politics of Cultural Studies*, Henry A. Giroux reminds us that a politics of representation "makes the complicated issue of difference fundamental ... it favors looking at the conflict over relations of power, identity, and culture as central to a broader effort to advance the critical imperatives of a democratic society. Central to such a struggle is rethinking and rewriting difference in relation to wider questions of membership, community and social responsibility" (31). So while a politics of identity may threaten to shut-down the proliferation of

difference, it also "covers a complex and diverse terrain of theoretical positions and discourses concerned with questions of subjectivity, culture, difference, and struggle ... there is also the politically shortsighted willingness to abandon identity politics at a time when right-wing conservatives are reappropriating progressive critiques of race, ethnicity, and identity and using them to promote rather than dispel a politics of cultural racism" (34). A current strategy deployed by the Right turns the tables on the language of radical change. "Discrimination" is now employed in the service of white middle-class and or white-collar men who've added the prefix "reverse" to the term, making a mockery of the years it took to install in national consciousness the recognition that injustice was being perpetrated against historically oppressed populations. Or the co-optation, eroticization, and marketing of sexual harassment in the film, "Disclosure." Much public thought on the nature of harassment was extinguished by this spotlighting of (white) men as plausible and even likely victims of sexual pressure. Indeed the Right has learned how to manipulate liberatory discourses for its own purposes, launching an offensive against disenfranchised groups to strip them of previously won protections. Part and parcel of this effort is the negative racialization and gendering of multiculturalism as an exclusionary practice and politics by those interested in preserving an outdated educational system, despite its disproportional representation of a white, generally male body of thinkers.

However, difference does not guarantee what Peter McLaren calls resistant, or radical multicultural principles.⁸ If, as the American Association of University Women 1997 conference title suggests, we are moving "beyond" current discourses because they are being successfully dismantled, perhaps we need to focus on why the greater dissemination of new attitudes and cultures into the ranks of government, business, and education has created a backlash against certain populations rather than acceptance. Given this situation—in addition to the critique of identity—we need to *differentiate between multiculturalisms*. Following Peter McLaren, I break these forms down into two broad entities; there exists a version of multiculturalism which shuffles the make-up of institutions (making them an assembly of varied constituencies), thereby creating the *effect* of a wider distribution of power and social and financial benefits by re-allocating positions to traditionally unrepresented groups. Against this model of multiculturalism, radical multiculturalism or radical democracy "doesn't see diversity itself as a goal but rather argues that diversity must be affirmed within a politics of cultural criticism and a commitment to social justice."⁹ Delimiting what he understands as a weak, pluralistic multiculturalism from "resistance or critical multiculturalism," McLaren posits the division between the two as poised along the lines of practice. The former holds that "difference needs only to be interrogated as a form of rhetoric, thereby reducing politics to signifying structures and history to textuality."¹⁰ To the contrary, resistance or revolutionary strategies sharpen these concerns with a more radical

agenda aiming to revise current arrangements and to develop the concept of identity as a multiple, fractured assemblage of subject positions. While McLaren definitely does not dismiss the worth of linguistic or textual difference in achieving social transformation (he later cites Cornel West's deconstruction of the black/white binary), he does insist on a revolutionary practice in the service of remapping current social conditions.

As a graduate student interested in theoretical perspectives, I suggest that Queer Theory¹¹ can help us reshape these conditions through practice. The first thing I'd like to do here is to outline Gay and Lesbian Studies apart from Queer Theory. Gay and Lesbian Studies grew out of a series of demands for civil rights, and performs an important function in valorizing and recuperating the work, contributions, and traditions of gay and lesbian people as well as re-reading the histories of homosexual experience in order to re-appropriate gay and lesbian historical subjects as gay and lesbian. While Queer Theory remains indebted to and indivisible from Gay and Lesbian Studies, it aims to accomplish new objectives. Queer Theory, a discourse that is at once theoretically and sexually charged, attempts to transgress and explore the boundaries of theory and identity beyond the confines of disciplinary borders. I do not suggest that Queer Theory acts as a panacea, or for that matter, even works in every classroom, particularly in classrooms where folks are struggling to maintain a sense of themselves or to establish an identity since Queer Theory renders identity ambiguous. And while certain theorists are extremely wary of Queer Theory for a number of valid reasons, I think that we must still draw on whatever resources help us to develop critical thinking skills in the classroom. But we do also need to heed these warnings by wisely "administering" these strategies and by first thinking through the consequences of applying Queer theories to particular classrooms.

In "Is There a Queer Pedagogy? Or, Stop Reading Straight," Deborah Britzman states: "Queer Theory insists on posing the production of normalization as a problem of culture and thought ... [it] offers methods of imagining difference on its own terms: as eros, as desire, and as the grounds of politicality. It is a particular articulation that returns us to practices of bodies and to bodies of practice." It is important to note that Britzman cites the problem here as the production of "normalization," not normalcy, thereby eradicating the notion of a normal condition which exists prior to or outside the formation of society. Britzman also draws attention to what we might call the "rudeness" of the term "queer." But this resignification of a derogatory term attempts to retain a certain "shock value" to institutions which attempt to reproduce norms, rules, and guidelines according to a heterosexual, white logic.

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Central to Queer Theory is the action of queering. I comprehend the activity of queering as a radical engagement with historical, political contests. To "queer" something means to make indeterminate or ambiguous in a positive sense. It implies "an ethical project that begins to engage difference as the grounds of politicality and community." A teacher's act of queering reinvigorates worn discourses and ultimately encourages us to rethink notions of identity, bringing us to more inclusive and effectual political alliances. Using queer theory to enliven the classroom through an appeal to situated, embodied knowledges (of popular culture, media, sexuality, politics, literature) stimulates the creation of new value systems appropriate to diverse student bodies. Queering the classroom depends on an instructor's (facilitator's, professor's) willingness to queer her own pedagogical/academic knowledge base, thereby allowing students to bring histories rooted in community, family, and sexuality to bear on curricular materials.

Queer theory is also a discourse about the flexibility of limits. If limits are themselves liminal, that is, on thresholds and therefore never fully-formed, the lines that are continually drawn for us between Self and Other, Man and Woman, White and Not-White, are never complete or final. The second term in fact shores up the first term, thereby acting as its condition of possibility, or the condition which makes its exclusion of the other possible. Queer theory theorizes out of the difference within the two terms, the difference that makes each term possible. In this respect, Queer theory enriches a radical multiculturalism: Difference is not merely an empty pluralism where the proliferation of people of color, women, or people with disabilities "pepper" existing structures of domination. Rather, difference plays a fundamental role in re-structuring contemporary realities.

During my second semester of graduate school, I became a teaching assistant in a freshman level literature course. The class consisted of a large lecture section with four hundred students and eleven T.A.s working in discussion sections with a total of forty students each. We read Toni Morrison's *Beloved* that semester. The professor, a white Southern man, gave us full reign to teach the book as we wanted. My reading and his were completely different. While both of us read *Beloved* as a novel about the effects of slavery and racism, the professor viewed the book as a fictional account of an historical institution. He never connected the novel's themes to present-day issues. During my section, however, I intended to use the story to open a discussion of Affirmative Action. My mostly white students were asked to think about Sethe, the main character in the book who escapes slavery and is revisited by the ghost of a girl child she killed moments before a bounty hunter comes to recapture her family. Should Sethe be entitled to reparations for her suffering? Yes, all agreed. I then asked them about her surviving daughter and son: Since the children were poorly educated during slave times and after, should they be given special

monies or help? Again, all agreed yes. We then explored who should be responsible for reparations; her past owners, her overseer "Teacher," the U.S. government, the people of the U.S., and if conditions of racism and inequality continued to exist (it is important to remember that many middle-class students do not understand poverty as an expression of historical or cultural exclusion, but rather as the failure of individuals or groups) should the descendants of Sethe's family continue to receive aid? At this point, they began to catch on and a lively debate ensued between students who took a pro-reparation stance and those who rejected reparation. Although I believe that students were not swayed one way or another by this class, what I find valuable here is the fact that my students found themselves implicated in the issue of Affirmative Action in a way that they normally do not acknowledge. Because the issue of Affirmative Action is usually consigned to the realm of a distant politics or brief media commentary, mainstream students rarely situate themselves within frameworks of responsibility, privilege, and economic power. I realize that this is a very mild example of "queering" a lesson, however, during this class, the grounding of some students' identities were suddenly shifted and made indeterminate: Suddenly they found themselves at the heart of the debate rather than above it, and were asked to take responsibility for their ethical impulses (remember nearly all the students agreed that reparations should be made). Queer theory attempts to shake things up in just this sort of way: it asks that we bracket what we consider normal and invent new possibilities.

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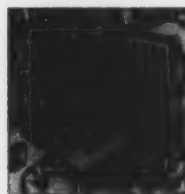
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Endnotes

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2. Henry A. Giroux uses this term in "Living Dangerously: Identity Politics and the New Cultural Racism," *Between Borders: Pedagogy and the Politics of Cultural Studies*, eds. Henry A. Giroux and Peter McLaren (New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 29-55.
3. Diana Fuss, *Essentially Speaking: Feminism, Nature & Difference* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 101. Fuss borrows several quotes from Jenny Bourne's "Homelands of the Mind: Jewish Feminism and Identity Politics," in *Race and Class* 29:1 (Summer), pp. 1-24, in order to argue this point.
4. See Barbara Christian, "Diminishing Returns: Can Black Feminism(s) Survive the Academy," in *Multiculturalism: A Critical Reader*, ed. David Theo Goldberg (Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, 1994).
5. For a range of viewpoints on multiculturalism in the humanities see Homi K. Bhaba's *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994); Carmen Luke and Jennifer Gore, editors, *Feminisms and Critical Pedagogy* (New York: Routledge, 1992); Parlo Singh's "Voicing the 'Other', Speaking for the 'Self', Disrupting the Metanarratives of Educational Theorizing with Poststructural Feminisms," in *After Postmodernism: Education, Politics, and Identity*, eds. Richard Smith and Philip Wexler (London: The Falmer Press, 1995), pp. 183-205; bell hooks's *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom* (New York: Routledge, 1994); Henry A. Giroux's "Doing Cultural Studies: Youth and the Challenge of Pedagogy," *Harvard Educational Review* 64:3 (Fall 1994), pp. 277-309; William V. Spanos's *The End of Education: Toward Posthumanism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993); Donald Morton and Mas'ud Zavarzadeh, editors, *Texts for Change: Theory/Pedagogy/Politics* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press); Katherine J. Mayberry, editor, *Teaching What You're Not: Identity Politics in Higher Education* (New York: New York University Press, 1996); Judith Butler and Joan W. Scott, editors, *Feminists Theorize the Political* (New York: Routledge, 1992); Jeffrey Williams, editor, *PC Wars: Politics and Theory in the Academy* (New York: Routledge, 1995); bell hooks's *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Politics* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1990); and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's *Outside in the Teaching Machine* (New York: Routledge, 1993).
6. See Peter McLaren (1995), 131. Here he draws from Teresa Ebert's "Writing in the Political: Resistance (Post)Modernism," *Legal Studies Forum* XV 4 (1991), pp. 291-303.
7. See David Theo Goldberg, "Introduction: Multicultural Conditions," *Multiculturalism: A Critical Reader* (Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, 1994), pp. 1-45, for a history of monoculturalism and the emergence of multiculturalism. See also Terry Dean's "Multicultural Classrooms, Monocultural Teachers," in *College Composition and Communication* 40:1 (February 1989), pp. 23-37, for a practical approach to promoting diversity in a composition classroom.
8. See Peter McLaren's chapter "White Terror and Oppositional Agency: Towards a Critical Multiculturalism," in his book *Critical Pedagogy and Predatory Culture: Oppositional Politics in a Postmodern Era* (New York: Routledge, 1995) for his analysis of different forms of multiculturalism. Central to McLaren's project is the evaluation of "whiteness" as a cultural identity whose "most formidable attribute is its ability to mask itself as a category" (135).
9. McLaren (1995), 126.
10. McLaren (1995), 131.
11. For an overview of Queer Theory and Gay and Lesbian Studies see Michael Warner, editor, *Fear of A Queer Planet: Queer Politics and Social Theory* (University of Minnesota Press, 1993) and with Lauren Berlant, "What Does Queer Theory Teach Us About X?" *PMLA* 110 (May 1995), pp. 343-9; Gloria Anzaldua and Cherrie Moraga, editors, *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings By Radical Women of Color* (Watertown, MA: Persephone Press, 1981); Simon Watney's "Queer Epistemology: Activism, 'Outing', and the Politics of Sexual Identities," *Critical Quarterly* 36:1 (Spring 1995), pp. 13-27; Bat-Ami Bar On's "The Feminist Sexuality Debates and the Transformation of the Political," *Hypatia* 7:4 (1992), pp. 45-58; Judith Butler's *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (New York: Routledge, 1993) and *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990); Donald Morton's "The Politics of Queer Theory in the (Post)Modern Moment," *Genders* 17 (1993), pp. 121-150, and "The Class Politics of Queer Theory," *College English* 58:4 (April 1996), pp. 471-482; Deborah Britzman's "Not a Special Section: Gay and Lesbian Studies in Education," *Educational Review* 17:3 (1993), pp. 225-232; and Henry Ablove, Michele Aina Barale, and David Halperin, editors, *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

Double Jeopardy: What To Do About Gender and Ethnic Interference in the Writing Classroom

Elaine Fredericksen



I have been working with so-called non-traditional students for so long that I wonder what's traditional anymore. Certainly post-secondary education no longer caters mainly to young white males as it did during the early years of the American university system. All that changed, as you know, with world wars, women in the work force, and government financial support for public higher education. Our students today are often older than what we once considered average college age. There are as many women as men. Large numbers of students come from ethnic minorities. At The University of Texas at El Paso, where I teach, the average age is around twenty-seven. Estimates suggest that eighty percent of the student body is of Hispanic descent. These students have become—must become—my tradition.

But most of you are already familiar with this new kind of population and are dealing with it, adapting to it, in a variety of ways. Today I'd like to talk about the writing classroom—any classroom where writing is a component—and students who find themselves in jeopardy because they don't perceive themselves, and are often not perceived by others, as writers who have something important to say in the academic setting. I would like to suggest that women and ethnic minority students enter college in a state of double jeopardy. Like most students they don't think they can write because they have little experience with academic language. Additionally, women and ethnic minority students may hesitate to write because their experience has been that no one listens to their voices anyway.

What can teachers do to reduce fear and help all students write eagerly? I am here today to offer some suggestions. First we need to recognize our own biases and try to eliminate or work around

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them. A 1993 study by Donnalee Rubin suggests that readers relate best to writing that mirrors their own backgrounds. So an anglo teacher will read an anglo student's paper differently from the paper of an hispanic student. Men relate better to essays by men than those by women and vice versa. My first response to this study was "Not me! I wouldn't do that," but in retrospect I have discovered that although I don't want to read through my lens of prejudice, I can't help it unless I think about it. I might very well react badly, for instance, to a paper about how men pick up women. A male writer's perspective on this issue could very well upset me if it were blatantly sexist. How I comment on and grade that essay will depend on my personal politics unless I think about it.

Now I am not suggesting that teachers not respond politically. Many feminists have pointed out that everything is political. What we can do is withhold negative criticism and hurtful comments in favor of pointed questions. We can tell students something about our personal philosophies as we discuss the importance of assessing audience. My students know that I am a member of their audience and that I am a rather outspoken feminist. I warn them that their writing should take this into consideration. Like any other member, I can become a hostile reader; unlike any other member, I have to decide on grades.

Which brings me to another suggestion. My students and I grade collaboratively. They write me letters concerning their work and tell me what grade they think it merits and why, based on established class guidelines. Disagreements are settled through conferencing or the use of outside readers. Practice evaluating their own writing helps students gain confidence in their judgments and gives them courage to write more.

Another way teachers can remove students from jeopardy is through the creation of learning communities. Clustering students—that is having them travel together to several classes—and increasing collaborative activities helps them see that they have the same fears, strengths, and weaknesses as their classmates. They learn that second and third opinions give them an opportunity to think about the issues in their writing and that all learning is ultimately collaborative. Many of you probably do group work in your classes. What I am suggesting is that this be expanded in various ways when students write. Peer response groups help individuals with their own essays by giving specific feedback. I suggest adding assignments which are group written and where all members receive the same grade. This kind of cooperation can give otherwise timid students a chance to contribute without fear of sailing alone. An interesting phenomenon that my fellow cluster teachers and I have noted is that students much more readily visit professors for extra help if they can do so in a group. Shy students who otherwise would

never approach a teacher end up coming by frequently as long as they have their classmates' company and support.

Clustering and collaboration have particular benefits at commuter campuses like mine. Students who are assigned to semester-long groups (called base groups) often form lifelong friendships among those students. Because they are asked early to exchange phone numbers, a base-group member always has someone to call for an assignment, assistance, or just conversation. We have observed that these groups very frequently become out-of-class study groups and that cluster students try to sign up for classes together in ensuing semesters. This provides tremendous support for students who may have felt isolated because they were not "like everyone else."

Collaborative research can be particularly helpful for students who have not previously done academic work. A team of four brings much more confidence and energy to a research task than one person alone and can locate an amazing amount of information. Strong research makes writing academic essays easier and more successful. Even if you don't want to grade collaborative papers (and I must say I resisted that idea at first myself), research teams can get students moving on individual projects. On an argument essay, for example, a team of two can do research together and then take opposite sides of the issue to develop. This pairing helps beginning writers master the art of effective refutation. Or a team of four can take different aspects of a problem and write separate sections of a report. One, for instance, might look at the causes of earthquakes, while another reports on effects of particular tremors. Others might look at engineering solutions or appropriate human response to earthquake emergencies. The important item is not the subject so much as the teamwork and the confidence built by each member.

Groups only work when they are managed well, and I recommend reading Johnson and Johnson's work on learning communities or attending a collaborative learning workshop. If that isn't possible, however, trial and error can also lead to success. It's just harder that way.

To encourage student writers, I also recommend blending the personal and the private. Most writers feel more comfortable relating personal experience, beginning with what they know. I usually begin a writing assignment with discussion of an issue and a personal freewriting activity. Having established their private reactions to the issue—their own stance—students generally feel better capable of moving to a more academic mode. One student wrote at the end of the semester, "I liked this class because it made me realize I had something to say. Before I didn't have any opinions on anything." We might be shocked to discover how few of our students know for sure where they stand or are willing to offer their opinions for public scrutiny. This is especially diffi-

cult for any student who has felt devalued in school or in society. By acknowledging the validity of personal experience, we acknowledge the person.

I also encourage you to let students share their final products with their classmates. Mike Rose, David Bartholomae, Anthony Petrosky, and many other writing experts have experimented with publishing their student writing, sometimes using the first half-semester essays as readings for the second half. When I use portfolios, I allow a day for students to read one another's finished work. The interest and acclamation of peers goes a long way in helping students feel like successful writers. This sharing can work particularly well with essay exams. If the professor reads or prints and distributes the best essay answers (or sections of answers), other students learn about the subject matter by reading and also accumulate models of good essay question writing. Naturally this process also provides tremendous reinforcement for the students whose papers are selected for distribution.

Finally I believe we can help students to write more and write better by remaining open to variation and positive in our comments. Students react badly to negative criticism and seldom even look at papers which are full of mechanical corrections. On the other hand, they respond well to requests for more information and appropriate content questions. If mechanics are particularly bad, students need tutoring and generally profit from opportunities to correct and resubmit work that was poorly done. They do best when asked to address one problem at a time (only commas, only spelling, only subject-verb agreement, etc.). Students who speak English as a second language require particular patience and assistance. I meet regularly with my second-language students (and I have lots of them) to go over their essay drafts BEFORE the essays are submitted for grades. This makes the graded work I return to them much more acceptable and encourages rather than defeats them.

Since there are no longer any "traditional" students, we must create our own tradition. Please use any of these suggestions that appeal to you; ignore the rest. I know you will create a tradition of successful writing for ALL who pass through your classes.

Gender Difference: A Prototype

Kathleen C. Jacobs and Lucille C. Gambardella



An interdisciplinary faculty team at Wesley College in Dover, Delaware designed a pilot course in a seminar format that focused on gender difference in personal, professional, and workplace environments. The course was titled "The Gender Difference" and given the designation "GC200" on the Spring 1996 Course Schedule. The course was an elective and ownership did not belong to any specific discipline on campus. Gender and feminist theory was explored in an effort to introduce college age students to why female/male relationships in all environments and across all cultures are complex (Sandler, 1987).

The idea for the course "The Gender Difference" was borne out of the collaboration efforts of faculty members from four different disciplines on campus. The disciplines and faculty gender represented were Psychology (male professor), Communication (female professor), Business Management (female professor), and Nursing (female professor). It was felt among the four faculty members that issues relevant to gender are scarce in the institution's curriculum, but, abundant in our society. A need for gender as a topic of study was perceived as long overdue (Ainsworth-Vaughn, 1992; Stivers, 1992). A course was desired that would draw the interests of female and male students and prepare them to interact with each other, as well as the professors, in a positive way with respect to gender difference. The AAUW (1992, 1989) found that classroom interactions, both with the teacher and other students, are critical components of education. The concept could work if presented to the students in a positive manner. It was discussed that communication patterns, i.e., the media presentation of female/male issues and what makes gender difference be viewed as an asset rather than a liability (Perry, Turner, & Sterk, 1992). This pedagogical approach was exemplified in numerous classroom group exercises and role-play situations.

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The course was designed to examine the relationships between men and women in the personal, professional, and business settings. An interdisciplinary approach was used which included the historical, psychological, interpersonal, communicative, and sociological perspectives. For this purpose, three books were used in the course. They were *Homeward Bound*, Elaine May (1988); *You Just Don't Understand*, Deborah Tannen (1990); and *Men are from Mars, Women are from Venus*, John Gray (1992). The professors, collaboratively, selected the books because of the seminar format of the course and the desirability of having the students understand the problems inherent in how women and men communicate differently (Uchida, 1992).

The course format consisted of lecture, seminar discussions, audio-visual offerings, small group exercises, role playing, mini projects, a research paper in the area of gender difference, a mid-term examination, and a final examination. The institution uses the semester system and students earned 3 credit hours upon completion of the course. The objectives of the course were to have the students trace the evolution of female and male relationship, compare and contrast the communication styles of women and men, and develop their understanding of female and male relationships to enable them to effectively deal with situations in personal, professional, and business settings (Gibson, Ivancevich, & Donnelly, 1994).

Observations

The pedagogical dynamics of the course contained numerous facets. The introductory issues consisted of historical review of female/male relationships. These issues were composed of myths, social influences, and cultural influences. The female and male students stated that during the historical portion of this course they were not as interested in the content. Some of the myths advanced by Wither (1995) caused some debate. The next group of issues focused on media presentation of female/male relationships. There were lectures and audio-visuals dealing with the movies, television, and literary depiction of females and males. The students showed more interest in the course seminar during this topical area. Communication patterns of females and males interested the students more than any other segment in this course. During this portion of the course, students examined personal and intimate feelings through communication, body language, and expectations in professional and business settings. The male students tended to speak up and sit in the front. The male students, although outnumbered, appeared to be more vocal on all issues in the area of communication patterns.

Interpersonal issues presented included topics of leadership, sexual harassment, development differences, and psychological expressions. How to make female and male relationships work helps

to define the problems inherent in such relationships and determine expectations (Sandler, 1987). The female students spoke more during the discussion on these issues. Behavior patterns, emotional needs, and action plans completed the course. The male students spoke more on the behavior patterns and the female students spoke more on the emotional needs and action plans. There were gender differences in the way students interrupted each other. Kennedy and Camden (1981) convey that there is a dominance perspective in interruptive patterns among females and males.

During the role playing portion of behavior patterns the male students, although speaking more, took offense to some inferences regarding male roles in society. The females appeared not to take offense to any role designation. The observations in this course cannot be extrapolated to other studies nor can generalization be used because of the class size. Hopefully, what has been observed can become a prototype of learning in other institutions of higher learning.

Student Profile

Twenty-five students initially took the course GC200 (The Gender Difference). Course evaluation findings revealed that 23 students (15 females and 8 males) completed the course in Spring 1996. Two students (both males) received "incomplete" grades. Of the 23 students who completed the course, the majors declared were Psychology (10 students), Business Management (5 students), and Liberal Arts (2 students). Six students majored in varied majors which included Elementary Education, Accounting, and Nursing. In reference to class status, five students were seniors, nine were juniors, four were sophomores, and five were freshmen. The reasons the students stated for taking the course, on the course evaluation form, were "to learn about the opposite sex," "an interesting elective," "get four different faculty perspectives," and "help me in my job."

Lessons Learned

Overall, the students articulated that it was good to have four professors representing four different disciplines. On the other hand, the students felt that the gender difference among the faculty members teaching the course should have been more balanced. For future offerings, it would be better to have two female professors and two male professors or one female professor and one male professor. The most useful topics within the course, according to the students, were gender communication skills, gender workplace issues, interpersonal gender issues of style, and role play examples of real-life situations. The objectives of the course were achieved.

A workshop was presented at the AAUW College/University symposium in Anaheim, California, June 20, 1997 to explain the pedagogical methods used to teach a pilot course at Wesley College in Dover, Delaware. The purpose of the workshop was designed to examine communication and relationships between women and men in the personal, professional, and business settings. The workshop was also designed to demonstrate how curricula and programs are shaped by and help to shape issues of gender on campus and in schools. Participants were expected to gain insight into a cross-cultural approach to female/male interactions.

Conclusion

This successful course can be a prototype of learning in colleges across the country that value the holistic approach to teachings in the classroom. If educational programs value the development of the total person, curricula must include helping females and males understand the importance of insight regarding gender difference. The pilot course and the workshop have assisted in the process of encouraging the growth of courses within institutions of higher learning that can bring about greater gender equity awareness (Carelli, 1988).

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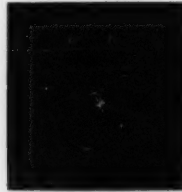
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Lessons In Identity: A Strategy For Cultural Diversity Learning Among Social Work Students

Elizabeth Torre Reck and Judith S. Lewis



As American Society continues to become more racially, ethnically and culturally diverse, so do student bodies in our universities and colleges. As a result today's students experience escalating pressure in the classroom and outside the classroom to respond to often confusing complexities associated with gender, race, class and culture. An increasingly central challenge for teachers in higher education is how to create learning environments and curricula that encourage students to explore themes and issues arising out of this shift in the ethnic composition of America and equip them for living and working in a multicultural world.

Social work education has a value and a curricular commitment to "prepare graduates to practice with diverse populations" CPS, 1992, M.5.4.2). Both commitments stem from the historical mission of social work, "a profession whose client base is often significantly minority and whose professionals often find themselves dealing with the effects of ethnic, racial and social class discrimination" (Trolander, 1997, p.111).

This paper describes how the authors developed and use a diversity learning strategy, anchored by two experiential writing assignments, with social work master's level students in an introductory human behavior course. The strategy seeks to help students understand and appreciate differences and similarities in people's life experiences, needs beliefs and world views. A second aim is to sharpen students' awareness of how developmental context and developmental capacities give a unique quality to each individual's story of his or her journey toward acquiring a sense of identity. It relies heavily on the power in narrative (Withrell & Noddings, 1991) and dialogue (Schon, 1987) to help students reach across the gaps of race, class, gender and ethnicity to create

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new connected knowing (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger & Tarule, 1986) about individuals' behaviors over the life span.

The first third of this course involves students in reading and discussing both traditional/dominant psychodynamic (Erikson, 1950, 1968; Brenner, 1957; Goldstein, 1995) and cognitive (Piaget, 1952, 1970; Bandura, 1977) human behavior theories and newer/alternative ones, including feminist (Miller, 1986), sexual preference (Lewis, 1984) and ethnic identity (Cross, 1971; Parham, 1989) models that recognize, incorporate and respect developmental diversity (Shriver, 1995). The second and third parts of the course focus on normative biopsychosocial developmental tasks of childhood and adolescence and on stressors or risk factors that threaten child and adolescent well being. Throughout the course students are challenged to reflect critically on a range of human behavior perspectives from which to choose when engaging with clients and assessing their life situations.

The discussion that follows presents the conceptual framework for the learning strategy and details of the two experientially driven writing assignments. Findings from a qualitative assessment of what new learnings students acquired about diverse others and themselves in doing the assignments are given, along with what faculty learning resulted. Suggestions are offered for ways these diversity assignments might be varied to use with students in college classes in different subject areas. The course on which the information in this paper is based was taught in the fall semester, 1996. It had three sections with a total enrollment of 110 students. There were female and male students and students who were Caucasian and people of color in each of the three course sections, with white women being in the majority.

Conceptual Framework: Why Identity? Why Narrative?

The concept of *identity* provides a useful means for framing abstract ideas about self and culture into more understandable concrete and human terms. Part of its attraction is that identity formation refers to a developmental process that students have already experienced, which comes into sharp focus for them again as they begin study for a professional degree. According to Erikson (1956) forming an identity is about acquiring "an assured sense of inner continuity and social sameness which will bridge what [she] was as a child and what [she] is about to become and will reconcile [her] conception of [herself] and [her] community's recognition of [her]" (p.111). A *sense of identity* refers to one's feelings about one's self and to the relationship between self concept and descriptions of the self by significant others. It also includes a sense of a social self that is based on having membership, for example, in gender, family, class and ethnic groups.

The sub-concept of ethnic identity has a special heuristic value for appreciating and understanding cultural diversity. "Ethnicity refers to beliefs, ways of communicating, attitudes and values and behavior norms shared by a group in a culture" (Uba, 1994, p.89). Ethnic identity is the person's sense of belonging with other members of the ethnic group and refers to how she defines herself vis-à-vis her ethnic group and is defined by others (Phinney, 1990; Uba, 1994). Two important pieces of learning for social work students are: (a) everybody has an ethnic identity; and, (b) ethnic identity "constitutes a schema that ... functions as a cognitive, information-processing framework or filter within which a person perceives and interprets objects, situations, events and other people, and ... serves as a basis for behavior" (Uba, 1994, p.89).

The literature recommends no one diversity teaching strategy. However, in recent years social work educators have found instructional methods based in adult learning theory and a postmodern social constructionist approach particularly useful in their teaching about values, social responsibility, social justice and multicultural practice. Therefore, we used these two theoretical perspectives to guide us in designing the strategy.

Adult learning (Knowles, 1972) emphasizes practical, experience-related learning, which allows students to be self-directed and pursue their individual learning needs. More recent adult learning models emphasize that "learning is by nature an active endeavor" (Meyers & Jones, 1993, p. xi) that involves the student alternatively in reading, writing, talking and listening. Moreover adult learning requires students to reflect critically upon their experience and apply it (Murrell & Claxton, 1987).

Social constructionists take the position that knowledge does not develop from testing theory empirically, but from co-constructing meanings in social discourse and in dialogue with others (Gergen, 1985; Scott, 1989). Their epistemology encourages teachers to destabilize relationships between "proven" knowledge and "truths" in their lessons about sources of difference in personality patterns and behaviors and co-construct with students new understandings of diversity informed by the voices of those marginalized by gender, class, race and ethnicity (Schmidt, 1997, p.3). It is highly congruent with adult learning principles that value each student as a person of worth, capable of contributing knowledge to the learning enterprise and sharing in mutual processes of inquiry (Knowles, 1972, pp. 77-79).

There were several reasons why social constructionists' emphasis on narrative approaches to knowledge building suggested a fruitful, as well as creative, way to design diversity learning experiences. First, all human beings tell and read stories to make sense of their world and themselves

in it. Second, individuals' "personal stories serve to organize actions and events around certain values and to explain choices in terms of unique histories, intentions and goals" (Holland, & Kilpatrick, 1993, p. 303). Furthermore, social work educators who had used stories, both fictive and real, as a method to help students explore their own and others' cultural backgrounds, reported positive learning outcomes for their students. For example, Laird (1993) found narrative techniques helped students "become ethnographers in search of their own narratives [and gain] a kind of respect for the narratives of others" (p. 98). Other instructors found that narratives helped their students learn how to listen to someone else and be reflective (Allen, 1993; Holland & Kilpatrick, 1993); "develop greater sensitivity to the themes and issues arising in their practice from other cultures" (Holland & Kilpatrick, 1993, p. 304); and enlarge their capacity to appreciate the varieties of ways people go about forming a coherent sense of self and perceiving their problems and possibilities (Link & Sullivan, 1989; Holland & Kilpatrick, 1993). Our challenge was how to translate these insights into student assignments.

The Learning Strategy

Two pedagogical assumptions shaped the learning strategies we used in designing our assignments: (a) competence in social work practice requires self knowledge about one's own identity in the context of a multicultural world; and (b) experiential activities are an important aspect of both learning about diversity and teaching diverse student populations (Magolda, 1992, pp. 190-226).

Building upon the conceptual framework explained in the previous section, we designed two experientially focused writing assignments. These assignments, consistent with course objectives, were designed to encourage students to do reflective thinking about the multi-systemic nature of human behavior and development; learn about and appreciate persons different from themselves; promote expanded awareness of their own cultural heritage; explore ideological and value assumptions about people in the theories introduced; and, arrive at a balanced view of their fit with social work values and ethical practice.

The first assignment, due in the sixth week of the course, asks students to conduct and then write a paper about an in-depth interview with a person significantly different from themselves. While suggestions for the areas of significant difference are broadly defined, the majority of students most often choose factors of race, gender, or culture as their focus. Students talk with their interviewee for at least an hour about significant ways they are different from each other, as well as ways they are alike. The assignment provides questions to guide the conversation.

Some examples are:

- (A) Discuss together feelings and ideas about similarities and differences between you, and possible explanations for the differences.
- (B) Discuss together factors you think have had the strongest influence on each of your lives, and identify what have been the strongest determinants for your differences;
- (C) Discuss together the effect of family, community, larger society, and cultural heritage on development for each of you;
- (D) Discuss whether you could have just as easily developed to be very much alike. Why or why not? And;
- (E) Explain how this experience has affected you.

Finally, students are asked to choose a particular theoretical perspective, drawing from course readings and class discussions. Using that perspective they are to raise six or seven further questions they would ask the interviewee, if they were interested in gaining further psychological insight about their subject.

The second writing assignment, due in the 15th week, has students use life stories from a face-to-face interview or from a novel or biography for applying reflective thinking and analysis to how a person's membership in a subculture influences his or her identity development in adolescence and world view. For this assignment students choose stories from fiction that have stood the test of time and from newer fiction that allows them to experience the identity struggles and human costs associated with racism, sexism, ethnocentrism and poverty. Among current favorites are: Toni Morrison's *The Bluest Eye*; Maya Angelou's *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*; Louise Erdrich's *The Beet Queen*; Amy Tan's *The Kitchen God's Wife*; Rita Mae Brown's *Ruby-Fruit Jungle*; and Barbara Kingsolver's *Animal Dreams*.

Students are asked to place their subject (either interviewee or fictional character) within their person/environment framework, and identify the sub-culture to which they belonged as an adolescent. Students are next asked to draw upon their knowledge of biopsychosocial development to evaluate critically their subject's handling of common life transition issues and normative crises of the adolescent period, commenting on their ability to deal with such issues as: a) independence and dependence; b) expression of sexuality; c) conflicts between family, racial, and ethnic self meanings and peer, school and community self referents; d) long-term goal setting and vocational choice; e) friendship and intimate relationships; and f) dilemmas of values and loyalties (moral and philosophical).

Students are asked to give specific attention to the ways subcultural membership shaped their subject's sense of identity and how they view their world. As with the first assignment, students are asked to support their conclusions with appropriate human behavior theory, concepts and research findings. Finally students are asked to assess the outcome of their subject's experiences with adolescence in terms of their achieving an integrated sense of self and a healthy self concept, giving an opinion about any ongoing identity issues that seem important for the subject's adult work.

Evaluation

Following completion of the second written assignment students were requested to write brief anonymous responses to two questions:

- (A) Did doing these assignments add to ways you think about race and gender? Other kinds of human diversity? Explain how;
- (B) What did you learn new about how a person's membership in a subculture affects his/her development of a sense of identity?

Approximately 62% (N = 68) of the enrolled students returned responses to these questions, which we considered an acceptable rate of return as compliance was voluntary. With few exceptions, students stated that the assignments added to ways they think about race and gender. Students' responses to the first question reflected four themes: First students' thinking about race, gender and human diversity in general was expanded and deepened, challenging them to question previous assumptions about the life experiences of others. Some sample comments are:

The assignments "definitely changed the way I view race ... I had always thought of myself as treating races equally. My decision as to whether I liked a person was not based on race but how they treated me/others. But the quality was based on how closely a person resembled myself, not taking into consideration the unique attributes and experiences of each person due to racial diversity."

"The personal interview I will always remember and cherish. I got great understanding about sameness and difference."

"I really enjoyed the diversity paper. It was refreshing to see that there is a commonality that transcends gender and race. I am not only beginning to think about myself as a female and what that means. The material covered in class has peaked my interest about the feminist perspective."

"I got a deeper awareness of what it is like to be an African American than I had before. As for gender differences, the only new notion for me was the universality, the broad application of feminism to ways of thinking about social work issues beyond those pertaining to equality of opportunity for women."

The second theme in students' responses to question one revolved around having their thinking and experience challenged, which led to much self exploration. Some comments are:

"I am now more aware of my stereotypes and how they affect my perceptions and interactions."

"I re-evaluated my life and attitudes."

"I realized how narrow my environment has been, thinking of everyone as the same or real."

"I learned more about myself and my views, what I *don't* know but thought I did."

Related to these comments were several that indicated a sense of relief and appreciation that talking about human diversity can actually be a good thing, that we don't have to be afraid of communicating with others about race and gender differences. One student wrote, "It is valuable to stress the fruits of examining diversity."

The third theme in students' responses to question one concerned the ways the assignments helped them integrate concepts and theories introduced in readings and class discussions. Students wrote, "these assignments helped crystallize concepts covered in class."... "applying theory as a way of understanding culture, race and gender in human development made course concepts come alive." Many expressed positive feelings about being exposed to new theoretical models about human development for women, people of color, and gay men and lesbians, and having a chance to apply these to actual life situations of their interviewees. Being challenged to apply theory to real life seemed to be beneficial in two directions. It made theory seem more useful, and applicable to reality, and it helped put an understanding of human experience into a broader context or framework, making it more real and applicable to others' realities.

The fourth theme in the responses to question one spoke to the development of empathy, a highly valued attitude and skill for social workers. Comments follow:

"The interview experience helped me to listen to another's story." ... "How to better understand sensitivity to diversity issues" ... "Challenging me to think through these issues from *their* perspective" ... "I also learned about the diversity within diversity" ... "Don't assume anything!" "The assignments were sort of a treat for me to be able to look at an individual and think through issues from their perspective. It is not easy to do this, but it is challenging to try."

Three major themes emerged from responses to the second question that asked students to write about new learning acquired of how membership in a subculture affects a sense of identity. First,

as with question one, students noted a deepening of their understanding about how subculture membership influences identity development. Comments are:

"What I learned was not new but a reworking of my perceptions and more detailed learning". "Subculture membership makes identity development rougher than I thought." "Even with higher socioeconomic status, there were major problems that I did not even comprehend. I can see I need to pay more attention to this."

Students noted in-depth learning about how *much* subculture membership really does shape identity, how confusing that can be, and how intergenerational transmission enters the process. One wrote: "I realized how African Americans struggle, being judged automatically by skin color."

A second theme of responses to question two emerged again around the development of empathy for the experience of subculture membership.

"I learned different ways of applying my thoughts—I was too narrow and I now have a more personal view of oppression and discrimination."

"I learned that other subcultures' values and attitudes are just as valuable as the mainstream." "I learned not to assume that subculture (i.e. race) is most important. For my subject, history, not membership in a subculture (i.e. race) is important." "...not everyone has difficulties identifying with their subculture. It can be a source of support." Also, "overcoming the negative effects of stigma can lead to strength". "I realized how African Americans struggle, being judged automatically by skin color".

The final theme in students' responses concerned theory application and applicability of classroom exercises to this learning. Once more students mentioned the usefulness of the new models of development about females, people of color, and lesbian and gay persons. For them being familiar with these new models meant that:

"Now I can respond without defensiveness because I have practiced applying these theories. I learned so much from the novel. I thought I knew about this subculture." "I loved doing two assignments like this to see how I improved in my understanding of theory application. This was more real learning."

Several students asked for more mini-exercises in class to help them apply theory to various diversity issues discussed in the course.

Faculty Learning

These diversity assignments provided important learning for faculty as well as students. First of all, they served as a reminder to us of how varied our student body is in terms of their knowledge and awareness of human diversity issues related to race and gender. As evidenced from their comments, some students found the experience personally enlightening and challenging of previously held assumptions about difference, while others found a deepening of previously learned content on human diversity.

Second, we learned how delighted students are to have the chance to be creative, to read literature, to do something a little different from the usual paper assignment. This kind of response is a reminder to all faculty that providing opportunities for creativity is extremely important in the development of critical thinkers.

Faculty also learned that most students need more help with theory application and more exposure to the newer human development models that are more relevant for, and inclusive of the experience of diverse populations. Many struggled with the task of applying a theoretical model to the information they gathered or to their subject's experience, but all of the students seemed eager to learn how to connect their classroom learning with real life experiences and realized the importance of doing so for their development as social workers. It is up to faculty to search continually for effective ways to help students make these connections.

Transferability to Other Subject Areas

Although this learning strategy was devised to support multicultural social work practice, experiential and narrative teaching methods can enrich students' explorations of human diversity in other subject areas and disciplines. Here are some suggestions for ways to vary the strategy. Students can be asked to examine plot and character in literature courses by considering how "cultural stereotypes and preconceived sets of interpretations about persons (regarding such characteristics as race, gender, age and socioeconomic status) influence characters in the story and their interpretations of events and relationships" (Holland & Kilpatrick, 1993, p. 307). Students might also try rewriting parts of a novel or play offering alternative interpretations and responses for a character's behavior, perhaps from the point of view of a person from another culture.

As one variation on the identity assignment described in this paper, an instructor might adapt and use Progovoff's (1975) stepping stone strategy as a way for students to gather data about and reflect on life histories at micro or macro levels. For example, as a first step, students could be asked to list 6 to 10 markers or key events in the identity formation of themselves, a family, a social movement, an organization, a nation and so on. They would then be instructed to proceed to develop explanatory paragraphs for each marker, using the stem, "This was the time when ..." and identify and explore key events, relationships, changes and diversity issues being dealt with in each steppingstone period (Walden, 1995, pp. 16-17). This kind of assignment works well in psychology, sociology, anthropology, history, political science and women's and ethnic studies courses.

Philosophy and history course instructors can use dialogic narratives to sharpen the focus of ethical issues revolving around power imbalances and social injustice. Students in social and cultural history courses can try their hand at writing narratives about how persons from dominant and oppressed groups might conceptualize their identities. In all of these examples students' efforts may be exchanged and shared with a partner or a small, peer learning group, thereby enhancing relational knowing.

Essentially, the stories people tell about themselves and others can capture students' imaginations and help them make connections with aspirations, values and strengths that people in every culture share. However spun—read or told, fictional or true, individual or group — stories and tales have pedagogical power to create what bell hooks (1994) speaks of as "a climate of free expression that is the essence of a truly liberatory liberal arts education" (p. 44). Finally, stories and storytelling offer a pedagogy of relationship through which "even the most naive students can be immersed in others' experiences and perceptions making connections that are impossible with the dry pedagogy of many ... texts" (Fortune, 1989, p.179).

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An Examination of Nursing Students' Perception of Classroom Climate

Teresa Shellenbarger and Deborah Lucas



In 1964 Congress passed the Civil Rights Act prohibiting discrimination based on race, sex, national origin and religion in employment and education. Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 mandates that schools receiving Department of Education funding must provide a nondiscriminatory environment (e.g., student treatment, classroom assignments, and grading) (US Department of Education, 1988). Discrimination arises from a variety of sources including the interaction between people in the classroom. During faculty-student interactions, faculty attitudes and faculty behaviors communicate a message about individual worth. This atmosphere influences students and affects their personal, academic, and professional development.

Hall and Sandler (1982) in their seminal report describe discrimination and the "chilly classroom climate." This chilly classroom climate can lessen a student's self esteem, impair student learning, hinder educational accomplishments, and ultimately even have an impact upon career decisions (American Association of University Women, 1992). Such an environment limits student potential and influences how students see themselves in relation to others. Research suggests that many faculty are still unaware of the behaviors and subtle messages that contribute to the chilly classroom climate (Long, 1986; Sadker & Sadker, 1986). Gender has been suggested as a contributing factor in imbalanced faculty-student interactions (Sadker & Sadker, 1994; Saul, 1992; Wingate, 1986). Since nursing is a predominately female profession, it is unclear if the chilly classroom climate exists for nursing students. Further research is needed to clarify this issue and determine what experiences nursing students have in the classroom.

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This research seeks to answer the following question of undergraduate nursing students enrolled in a state-supported university: What are nursing students' perception of the classroom climate related to faculty-student interactions in a state-supported university?

Literature Review

Researchers in education, sociology, and psychology have explored discrimination in the classroom. One area addressed includes faculty-student interactions. Faculty behavior that may indicate discrimination includes such things as asking student questions, calling on students, using student names, responding to students, expanding upon student comments, or providing feedback to students. Various researchers have described differences in faculty behaviors suggesting discrimination may occur in faculty-student interactions (Boersma, Gay, Jones, Morrison, & Remick, 1981; Brooks, 1982; Constantinople, Cornelius, & Gray, 1988; Crawford & MacLeod, 1990; Hall & Sandler, 1982; Karp and Yoels, 1976; Sadker & Sadker, 1986; Sadker & Sadker, 1994; Sternglanz and Lyberger-Ficek, 1977).

Theoretical Framework

The literature on feminist teaching and women's moral and cognitive development provided the framework for this study (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger & Tarule, 1986; Gilligan, 1982).

Methods

Permission to conduct the study was obtained from the Institutional Review Board at Indiana University of Pennsylvania. Nursing students were recruited by making announcements in core junior and senior level nursing courses. The study was explained to the students, time was allotted for students to ask questions and then interested participants read and signed an informed consent.

Subjects were contacted by phone to arrange for a conveniently scheduled focus group interview. Participants were acquainted with the rules of group participation (e.g., only one speaker at a time, all opinions were valued etc.). Data were generated using a semi-structured formal interview conducted at a time and place convenient to the participants.

The semi-structured interview guide was developed and reflected the literature and previous research in other disciplines. Interview topics included: faculty behaviors that stimulate active classroom participation, good and bad classes taken, and feelings they had while enrolled in these classes. Additional probes were included in the interview guide to ensure that classroom climate issues were identified and included topics such as teacher gender, course topic, and class size. The interview guide was reviewed by two other faculty members to ensure appropriateness of the interview questions.

Eight small focus group interviews, ranging in size from two to eight, were conducted for a final sample size of 33 (Krueger, 1988). The length of the interviews was not limited and averaged about one hour each. Interview information was audiotaped and later transcribed for analysis. At the start of each focus group session, all participants were welcomed and the purpose of the study was reviewed. Group members introduced themselves according to class standing (junior or senior status). Participants were reminded that the session would be audiotaped. Following each session, the interviewer had a short debriefing period in which they shared their thoughts about the interview.

After all interview transcriptions were complete the researchers read the interviews. Qualitative responses were analyzed for emerging themes. Similar statements were grouped together (Kingry, Tiedje, & Friedman, 1990; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Themes were then categorized and the resulting schema was submitted for review by the research team for validation.

Demographics

Subjects were enrolled in a state-supported university in a baccalaureate nursing program and had completed between 64 and 136 college credits. Subjects ranged in age from 20 to 47, with a mean age of 22 years. Four of the participants were male and 29 were female.

Findings

Throughout the interviews students consistently referred to faculty-student interactions many of which contribute to a chilly classroom climate. Themes emerging from the interviews led to the development of the following faculty behavior groupings: cheerleaders, nonresponsive, condescending, and exclusionary.

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Cheerleader Faculty (I Know You Can Do It)

When students did not perceive a chilly classroom climate it was usually related to faculty-student interactions that were positive. Faculty that contributed to this positive learning environment could be classified as cheerleader faculty.

Faculty described by students as cheerleaders were "real people" who liked their job and provided encouragement for students. Students cited many examples of professors and the way they taught that encouraged students. One student said,

"it was just the way he taught, he was so friendly, he got everyone into it and he'd use examples and he'd bring something to use as examples and he'd show it. He'd break people up into groups, he remembers peoples names, and to this day, (I had him when I was a sophomore) he'll walk by and he still knows my name. He took a picture of every class he had. He just probably loved his job."

Cheerleader faculty were usually described as enthusiastic, personable, and created a relaxed yet excited atmosphere. They might create a comfortable environment by doing things like sitting on the desktop during class time and getting to know the students and their names. These faculty were not only were motivated but they were encouraging to students. They treated students in a positive and respectful manner. A typical description of an incident with a cheerleader faculty was reported,

"I answer her question and even if I'm wrong she says, 'oh, that's a good thought' and then if someone else answers and gets it right she still goes out of her way to make me feel good for answering at all. She never says, 'oh, that's not it' she never makes me feel like, 'oh man, I missed it. You know, she does that and she's very encouraging and she accepts different ideas.'"

It did not seem to make a difference what subject was taught or the level of the course.

Cheerleader faculty were found in all disciplines and some students described multiple examples of cheerleader faculty. One student described three good classes that she had.

"None of the subjects were of particular interest to me ... all the professors were excellent ... the professors were all very spontaneous, they all are very bright and they are experts in their field, but they have the cooperative attitude that some of the other professors don't have, they're nice people and they are willing to help you and they encourage discussions and you learn more when everybody participates. They bring out activities and they are just warm and friendly and you can tell they care about you and are interested in what you're doing."

These examples of cheerleader faculty show positive faculty-student interactions. Students seem to develop a connection or rapport with these faculty. There is collaboration and cooperation in these classrooms.

Unresponsive Deaf Faculty (I Don't Hear You)

Students described some faculty as not hearing what the student had to say. These faculty did not listen to students. If students asked these faculty questions they were given the brush off, a smart answer, or were disregarded. Students were ignored, rushed, or not allowed to talk. Some of these faculty only heard what they wanted. One student commented, "I was there just to learn and if I didn't get it who cares" "he doesn't want to hear what you say. He ask questions, but he doesn't want to hear what you say, he just tears it apart." When describing a nursing faculty member who was unresponsive the student said, "no matter what you said, you knew she wasn't listening ... it was like words were thrown in my mouth ... you couldn't ever say what you wanted to say". Faculty were not listening to what students had to say. Or, if they did hear what the student had to say they were unresponsive to the student's concerns. One student described a situation with an unresponsive male professor. When students tried to voice their concerns the faculty member responded by stating "wake up, this is the real world you're living in and no one cares about you and so what". Overall the students who described these unresponsive faculty perceived these to be negative faculty-student interactions contributing to a chilly classroom climate.

Condescending Faculty (I'm Better Than You)

Another grouping of faculty behaviors that contributed to a chilly classroom climate was condescending faculty. Students reported that some faculty acted in a superior or condescending manner. They said these faculty talked over the students' heads, downgraded them, and made them feel inferior. When a student described her worst class she said,

"the teacher was brilliant but could not teach at our level. I couldn't understand a word he was saying, he couldn't bring it down and it was a difficult topic to begin with and it was just so over my head from the beginning, and when you went to ask him questions in his office, he was just like, you're an idiot because you weren't getting it in the first place and it was extremely frustrating"... the student reports feeling frustrated and "feeling intimidated, truly truly feeling intimidated, feeling I was a worthless little person and forget about it."

Sometimes these faculty would use teaching strategies that embarrassed students and intimidated them. The students were uncomfortable asking the teacher questions. Another student reports

having faculty that "come across with the attitude that, 'I know everything, you are stupid' ... We've had professors already that do that or they think it's funny that you don't know something. They think you should know what they know. It's just an attitude of superiority".

Gender becomes an issue in some of the descriptions about condescending faculty. A student describes a science class taught by "male chauvinists, they just did not like females at all. They really put us down whenever they had the chance. They just made you feel uncomfortable. You didn't want to talk to them, you didn't want to go to their class, and you didn't want to ask questions because they would just embarrass you in front of like 300 students". Other students also described situations involving the public embarrassment of female students by male faculty. For example, a student described a situation in a large lecture class for a difficult subject. The student says:

the teacher "was trying to make a point and one of the girls put up her hand. She didn't quite grasp it and wanted him to re-explain it. He leaned over to one of the guys in the first row and said, 'wo, that went right over her head didn't it.' I was just like you have gotta be kidding me and I shut him off and I ended doing horrible in the class because I wouldn't listen to a word he said".

Other students provided further support of the condescending faculty. "he spoke above our heads, he was very discriminatory toward females, he'd make jokes about females in front of the class. if you didn't meet his standards you just weren't worth dealing with and a lot of times if you didn't understand something he'd be like, 'well look it up' but you did look it up and you still didn't understand, he still would not come down to your level."

These condescending faculty controlled the power in the classroom and created an imbalanced environment. Students perceived a chilly environment and saw faculty as omnipotent and students as inferior.

Exclusionary Faculty (I Treat Some Students Better Than Others)

There were many examples of faculty who treated certain groups of students better than others. Both male and female faculty were given as examples. Women were sometimes treated better (got more teacher time, attention, or a better grade) if they used their feminine attributes to inspire personal and academic interests of male professors. For example, a student gave the example of a female student who would wear a skirt to class because this helped her to get better grades from the teacher. However, female students that did not display these feminine attributes and behaviors were not given attention by the male teacher.

Often female students were treated negatively. They were referred to in negative terms (i.e., ditzzy girls) or treated as incompetent. The females in the class were degraded, ridiculed, joked about, treated like idiots, and given very little of the teacher's time and attention. Interestingly most of these examples given about the poor treatment of female students occurred by male faculty primarily teaching science courses. Some interactions that students described (such as telling crude female jokes) occurred in front of the entire class and were not hidden from the students.

Being female often led to students getting less of the teachers time and attention. When discussing a physiology lab a female student described the male professor, 'he would spend time with specific groups and he really never came to my group, and when he did he would kinda go through something real quick and walk away, and we were just, what did he just do and why did he do that. I know my group was all girls. I think mine was the only all girl group actually.' Another student describes her worst class, another lab based physiology course. Not only are the faculty treating students in exclusionary ways but other students in the class also demonstrate similar behaviors. The student states, "I had three boys in my lab group and I was the only girl and I was treated like I was dumb. I was washing the slides, and I was cleaning up frog guts ... and it was because I was a girl."

Women were not only treated in this exclusionary way. Some male students enrolled in the nursing courses were degraded by female faculty. Sometimes the male student was given harder assignments than the female students. Some students indicated that nursing professors often went overboard in trying not to discriminate against the males but as a result ended up treating them differently. However, male students were also treated positively by other faculty. They were called upon for their opinions, they were treated as if more intelligent, they were given better grades, and they were known by their names while many female students were not.

Conclusions

The classroom climate for nursing students remains chilly. Even though students were asked about both positive and negative experiences, they primarily recalled negative experiences suggesting that negative faculty behaviors form lasting impressions that help to socialize students throughout their education. The teachers' behavior influences the overall classroom climate.

The themes emerging from these interviews revealed only one type of positive faculty behavior, the cheerleader. Faculty need to be encouraged to assume more of this role and less of the other roles.

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Faculty demonstrating the cheerleader behavior allowed the students to accept others and operate in relationship with reciprocity. Acceptance of each individual's personal experiences and perspectives helps to facilitate learning through connected knowing as suggested by Belenky et al. (1986). Students reported that collaborative and cooperative classrooms were perceived more positively than competitive situations.

As a result of the perceived classroom climate, students respond to the learning environment in various ways. One common way for students to respond was to tune the teacher out. Students frequently felt they were not smart enough to be in the classes and felt like they could not do the work. This pattern of treating females as inferior may lead to poorer performance, lower goal setting, and poor self-esteem. Ultimately women are still not participating equally in higher education.

When students were dealing with unresponsive faculty they represented what Belenky et al. (1986) referred to as silence. They were unable to express their opinions and were without a voice. Students want to be heard, suggesting the importance of voice.

Implications

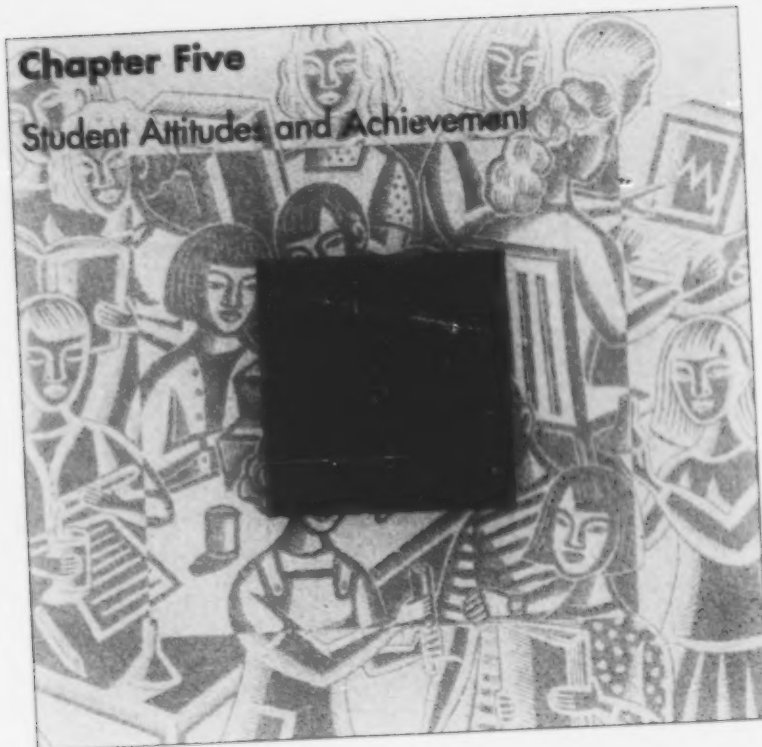
Despite progress made with affirmative action, problems still exist in the classroom setting of higher education. Even though Affirmative Action legislation prohibits discrimination in education, problems still exist. What can be done to create a more equitable environment? Faculty need to be held accountable for what occurs in the classroom. Peer evaluation of faculty teaching should be used for monitoring purposes. These evaluations can help to identify both the positive and negative behaviors, attitudes, and actions. Student evaluations should also be reexamined. There needs to be a method for students to report situations of discrimination without fear of reciprocity. Self-evaluation and examination of interactions with students, possibly through videotaping actual classrooms, may increase awareness of interactions. Faculty development may help improve the classroom climate since research suggests that many faculty are still unaware of the behaviors and subtle messages that contribute to the chilly climate (Long, 1986; Sadker & Sadker, 1986). Workshops and programs may help faculty to increase their awareness of discriminatory messages and actions. Faculty need to allow students' voices to be heard and value what they say, have open and honest discussions, and respect students and their opinions. Administrators need to support gender equity and awareness efforts. Nurse educators need to realize the influence that faculty-student interactions play in professional development and the role that nurse educators play in that socialization.

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Chapter Five

Student Attitudes and Achievement



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Student Attitudes Toward Diversity and Expectations for Workplace 2000

Constance J. Crawford



Introduction

A survey was created for this study to determine what student expectations and preferences were toward the workforce they would be entering and how well they felt the classroom had prepared them for that challenge. Affirmative action has been in place over 30 years and a debate has ensued over whether it is still necessary. Diversity in both the classroom and the workplace is a reality. One important issue in this survey involved how well issues of diversity are being incorporated into the curriculum to enable students to understand realistically what their work environments would be.

History

In 1961 President Kennedy signed Executive Order 10925 that established the President's Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity. This 4,500-word decree was based on a goal to eliminate discrimination. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits any employer from discriminating because of the individual's race, color, religion, sex or national origin. It was not written to grant preferential treatment to any special group. Defenders of affirmative action contend it is the only significant counterweight to institutional racism that makes it natural for large corporations and elite universities to draw on groups they have always turned to. The aim was inclusionary rather than exclusionary and, in a society where favoritism is commonplace, many believe there is no reason for affirmative action to be so resented.

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Whether affirmative action has achieved what was originally intended is much debated. Minorities make up less than 7% of the top managerial positions in corporate America. Women have made the greatest strides but still only earn 77% of what white males earn. The Federal Glass Ceiling Commission reported in 1995 that 95%-97% of senior managers at Fortune 1000 companies were men and 97% were white. Apparently minorities have moved into the corporate world but they do not necessarily move up. By the year 2000, approximately 80% of all new entrants to the work force will be women and minorities. By the year 2010, white males will make up less than 40% of the U.S. workforce according to Workforce 2000, a report conducted by the Hudson Institute. We need to determine whether the changing face of the workplace will have any real impact on the future success of the new entrants. Currently many women and minorities are blocked beneath the impervious "glass ceiling". Many speak of a stalled revolution, a backlash, and describe their work environments as difficult and uncomfortable.

As we enter the 21st century, the angry white male has become a popular media icon. The 1994 elections have rendered results perceived to be driven by "white males" at the polls. They are no longer defensive about the nation's obligation toward women and minorities. A poll conducted by MTV concluded that males between the ages of 23-29 had Republican affiliations. These young men are the products of academia's intense emphasis over the last decade on diversity training and multicultural education. The potential future leaders of America have rejected the idea of historical guilt over past indignities suffered by minorities. They do not perceive themselves as the cause of the nation's struggle over race and gender. Many believe that society today has provided equal opportunity after past decades of legislation and education and that everyone should be governed by the same regulations. The white male's patience is exhausted. We need to determine whether these new members of this mosaic work force are properly prepared for the challenges of diversity.

Inside the Classroom

A study conducted by Michigan University concluded in 1994 that 80% of students agree that racial and ethnic discrimination exists and should be incorporated into the curriculum at the college and university level. But students are less supportive of specific policies aimed at addressing these inequities, mainly financial aid and admissions policies. More than 80% of all students surveyed agreed that an understanding of the American experience should include studying African Americans, Latinos, Native Americans, and Asian Americans. Ironically, given this view, white students were not particularly supportive of hiring more faculty of color. They considered this priority an affirmative action policy which most white students do not favor. Given that faculty can

have an impact on student's behavior and attitudes, it is surprising that white students do not support a more diverse faculty. Data collected from national samples of colleges between 1972-1989 concluded that the portion of faculty involved in teaching women's studies or ethnic study is rather small. The study determined that more women than men and more African-American and Hispanic faculty than white or Asian-American faculty have mainstreamed the perspectives of women and/or minorities into the courses they teach.

Diversity has been perceived by many as a "they win, we lose" scenario. If diversity is presented as a broad educational objective, students are more likely to be supportive. It is vital that higher education shift the debate to common goals enabling students to be better prepared for an increasingly diverse workplace.

The Work Environment

Half of all U.S. employers have instituted some kind of formal initiative to manage cultural diversity, according to a survey conducted by the American Management Association. Many believe that corporate America is willing to accept and utilize its diverse workforce, but it is not working hard enough or fast enough—that there have been many cosmetic changes to the work environment amounting to little more than a few hours of sensitivity training. Apparently not many corporations have placed diversity at the top of their organizational goals. Most companies recognize a need to make the workplace embrace some diversity, but place too much emphasis on changing the attitudes of the workers in the company—instead of changing the corporate culture itself.

Diversity has now become a global issue, which many believe has diluted the original intent—creating opportunities for women and minorities in America. Diversity has become defined by a universe of differences, which serves to take the focus off the real problems of oppression—racism, sexism, and homophobia. Many employers have started to pander to white-male fears and paranoia. In the changing climate of affirmative action, diversity has been soft-pedaled, or in extreme cases back-pedaled, in many leading corporation. According to Taylor Cox, the author of *Cultural Diversity in Organizations*, diversity management has not effected the improvement in career and promotion opportunities for the groups it was intended to help. Anti-discrimination policies, channels for complaints, and diversity programs can be in place but of little value without the support of all levels of management as seen in the Texaco situation. If mid-level and senior managers play by their own rules, the diversity policies are worthless. We much change the corporate culture if we are to succeed.

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Survey Results

The survey we created attempted to focus on the major areas addressed above: what was the original intent in affirmative action programs, how well have these concepts and ideas been incorporated in the classroom, and what are the students' preference and expectations as they enter the workplace of the 21st century. My analysis will focus on the survey results of the expectations and preferences of students toward the workplace.

Expectation/Preference Re: Specific Workplace Groups

The first part of the survey focused on the expectations and preferences of students toward specific workplace groups. Respondents expressed 72.9% expectation that the business environment where they will work to consist of diverse individuals, while 21% stated it would consist of white males. As to preference in the workplace environment, 82.5% stated they would prefer a diverse environment. As to expectations concerning managers in their workplace: 48.5% believe they would be white males, 3.9% black males, 3.9% white females, 2.6% minority females, and 41.0% diverse individuals. As for preference concerning managers: 19.7% preferred white males, 5.2% minority males, 10.0% white females, 2.2% minority females, and 62.9% a diverse management team. As for expectation concerning decision makers in the large corporation work environment: 62.0% expected white males, 2.2% minority males, 2.6% white females, 1.7% minority females, and 31.4% diverse groups. As for decision makers in small companies: 27.5% expected white males, 7.4% minority males, 12.2% white females, 2.2% minority females, and 50.7% diverse groups.

The students' preferences coincide with the reality of the workplace, however the expectations of who would be the managers and decision makers do not. Only 48.5% of the students surveyed believed that the managers would be white males, and the reality of the workplace is that over 90% of top management are white males. Management and decision makers are generally one and the same, and only 62% of students surveyed believed that the white males would be making the decisions.

Expectation/Preference Re: Affirmative Action/Diversity

The expectation and preferences of students toward affirmative action policies in place in the work environment today were the focus of the next segment of the survey. The expectation of students toward large companies following affirmative action policies were as follows: 25.8% of the students believed corporations would always follow policy, 38.4% most of the time, 30.1% sometimes, 3.1% rarely, and 2.6% never. As for small companies: 20.2% expected them to always follow affirmative action, 28.1% most of the time, 36.4% sometimes, 12.3% rarely, and 3.1% never.

It appears that students expect large corporations to follow affirmative action policies more often than smaller companies.

Close to 36% of students surveyed preferred to work where affirmative action policies would always be enforced, 26.2% where they would be enforced most of the time, 24% where they would be enforced sometimes, 4.4% rarely, and 9.6% never. Survey questions concerning belief affirmative action policies would bring students career opportunities different from those of their fathers rendered the following results: 15% said always, 17.2% most of the time, 36.1% sometimes, 15% rarely, and 16.7% never. Similar questions regarding the expectation of different career opportunities as a result of affirmative action policies when compared with their mothers rendered these results: 16.3% said always, 23.3% most of the time, 31.7% sometimes, 8.4% rarely, and 19.8% never. Almost 32% of students surveyed do not believe affirmative action policies will provide them with other opportunities than their parents had.

The survey indicated that 47.4% of students surveyed preferred to work where diversity was encouraged always, 29.8% most of the time, 17.5% sometimes, 3.5% rarely, and 1.8% never. In terms of the students' expectation of the workplace encouraging diversity: respondents indicated that 26.2% always expected encouragement, 38% most of the time, 30.6% sometimes, 3.9% rarely, and 1.3% never. As to the need for affirmative action policies in the modern workplace: 24.6% believed they are always needed, 33.8% most of the time, 23.7% sometimes, 8.8% rarely, and 9.2% never. It appears that 18% of the students believed that affirmative action policies are not really needed today.

The survey next asked the respondents if they expected there were actions an employee could undertake to increase a company's affirmative action. Almost 20% responded that employees would always be able to increase affirmative action, 34.2% most of the time, 36% sometimes, 6.1% rarely, and 3.9% never. As to the most effective way to ensure that companies followed affirmative action policy: 23.8% of the students felt government implementation was the best method, 18.1% believed lawsuits were most effective, 41.1% company policy and procedures, 10.6% employee training, and 6.2% consumer action.

Diversity Preparation

The encouragement and incorporation of diversity issues in the classroom were the topics of the next segment of the survey. Students were asked whether acceptance and encouragement of diversity were part of the classroom environment in which they learned. Close to 29% responded always, 46.6% most of the time, 19.7% sometimes, 5.3% rarely, and .40% never. Asked whether

information regarding diversity was incorporated into their courses, 16.6% stated always, 34.1% most of the time, 38.9% sometimes, 10.5% rarely, and 0% never. It is apparent from these results that professors at Ramapo College of New Jersey provide an environment in their classrooms that encourage diversity, and incorporate issues of diversity into their courses.

Our next focus addressed the manner in which issues of diversity are incorporated into the courses. We asked the students in which of the following courses were diversity issues instituted. They were instructed to check all that apply. Thirty one percent responded in all courses, 23.6% stated courses in their major, 29.7% general education courses, 50.2% social issues/perspectives in businesses courses, and 3.9% in senior seminar courses. As to how diversity issues were incorporated into the curriculum, the students were asked to indicate all of the following that applied. Almost 62% stated through the professor, 45.9% through assigned readings, 76.4% class discussion, 23.6% projects, and 18.3% guest speaker. The students were then asked how best to incorporate diversity issues into the learning process and to indicate all that applied. A little more than 57% stated the professor was the best facilitator, 45.4% assigned readings, 74.2% class discussion, 38.4% projects, and 43.2% guest speakers. This is an interesting result when compared to the University of Michigan study that indicated most white students were not in favor of hiring minority faculty members. Other studies have indicated that minority faculty members tend to incorporate issues of diversity into their classroom more often than non-minority professors.

The next part of our survey addressed how students learned about diversity outside the classroom and told respondents to indicate all that applied. Almost 44% stated through peers/clubs, 19.3% through counselors and advisors, 41.2% through family, 53.1% through work, and 58.8% through the media. This is an expected result considering the media's influence on this generation of college student.

The survey then asked the students to state their preference concerning the size of company at which they would like to work. Twenty nine percent stated a large company, 39.3% a small company, 11.2% an owner-operated company, 17.9% self-employed, and 2.7% other.

Preparation/Impact of College

The next section of the survey related to how well the student felt Ramapo College had prepared them for the issues of diversity they will encounter in the workplace. Rating on a scale of 1 (low) to 5 (high): 8.3% students surveyed chose 5, 29.4% chose 4, 42.1% chose 3, 13.2% chose 2, and 6.6% chose 1. Based on these results, most Ramapo College students felt they were adequately prepared for the issues of diversity they will be facing at work.

We then asked students how much their expectations regarding workplace diversity had changed since they began college. Using the 1 (low) to 5 (high) scale: 5.3% selected 5, 29.3% selected 4, 36.4% selected 3, 14.7% selected 2, and 14.2% selected 1. This result coincides with those concerning the incorporation of diversity into the classroom. The majority of students felt their expectations regarding diversity had changed since they began college. As to the degree to which students' workplace diversity preferences had changed since they began college: 6.3% chose 5, 17.9% chose 4, 43.3% chose 3, 17.4% chose 2, and 15.2% chose 1. Student expectations had been influenced approximately the same amount as their preferences as a result of their experiences at Ramapo College.

Conclusions

Based on the results of the survey conducted of approximately 230 students at Ramapo College of New Jersey in the spring semester 1997, issues concerning diversity are extremely important. Most of the students preferred to work in an environment that encouraged diversity. They preferred to work in companies where the management team consisted of diverse individuals, but many were realistic in their expectations for the workplace they are entering. Many of the students surveyed realized that white males would more likely be the managers than minorities, and that conclusion coincides with the actual workforce environment. Most students expected both large and small firms to follow the initiatives as established under affirmative action legislation, and were realistic enough to recognize the best manner of implementation was through company policy/procedures and government action. Many of the students surveyed did not feel that the affirmative action policies in place would afford them career opportunities different than their parents had experienced.

As to issues involving the classroom, most students believed they were adequately prepared for issues involving diversity. They felt that professors, assigned readings, and classroom discussions were the most effective means of incorporating diversity into the curriculum. The media had the largest influence on respondents outside the classroom followed by work, family, and peers/clubs. Once again the importance of the media and the family in helping to mold society is of major importance.

How well the students of today will create an environment of acceptance and diversity at the workplace of the 21st century is yet to be determined. Through adequate training, discussion, and education there is hope that the preferences of the respondents will soon become the realities they will encounter.

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Student Attitudes Toward Workplace Acceptance of Diversity, and Factors Influencing Student Preparation/Expectation/Preference for Workplace 2000

Susan Eisner



Introduction

The significance and timeliness of the subject we have been investigating is underscored by trends in the rapidly changing workplace for which students we are teaching in college today are being prepared. The magnitude of these changes has been the subject of national studies by major research organizations including the Department of Labor, Bureau of the Census, Gallop, and Catalyst. From the federal *Glass Ceiling Commission Report* released in 1995 to Gallop Polls reported in *The New York Times* in June 1997, data reveals what amounts to a paradigm shift for workforce 2000: today's majority is expected to be tomorrow's minority. Women are expected to be more than 50% of the workforce early in the next century, and already make up 47% of the U.S. labor force.

In addition to approaching demographic majority in the workplace, the educational levels of women are equally strong. Today more than half the AA, BA, and master's degrees are received by women. Simultaneously, the *Glass Ceiling Commission Report* has documented institutional practices perpetuating white male dominance in American business: it found deliberate exclusion of women and minorities from opportunities vital to career success. Prominent organizations from The American Institute for Diversity Management to The Center for Creative Leadership advise businesses that, given the demographic projections, correcting these practices is a strategic business imperative.

The majority of American businesses have diversity management programs in place in recognition of the transformations occurring. The workers who will enter that workplace, and those pro-

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grams, are being educated in colleges today. It is important to examine student attitudes toward diversity and the forces at college that influence student preparation, expectation, and preference for the multicultural affirmative action workplace.

Several studies have explored student attitude formation. Other studies have examined students' attitudes toward diversity through their views on affirmative action in higher education. This study presents findings gathered through an original survey that appears to be among, and perhaps is, the first to investigate student attitudes toward diversity in the *workplace*, and the social and curricular factors influencing those attitudes.

The Research Questions

An extensive literature search was conducted in identifying the following central questions for study: Do today's students expect to find corporate culture dominated by white males, to which they must conform to succeed? Do they prefer such a corporate culture, or one which they are encouraged and expected to help shape? Do they expect their career opportunities to be different from those of their fathers, and their mothers? Do they expect to find corporate culture and career opportunity to differ in large vs. small companies? Do they feel affirmative action is necessary, and what forms of implementation do they think effective? What preparation in and outside the classroom affects these expectations and preferences?

In the data from this survey Professor Crawford analyzed in "Student Attitudes Toward Diversity and Expectations for Workplace 2000," we have information on student opinions about the multicultural work environment. But what factors influence these attitudes? What specific characteristics have most impact? What specific types of diversity do students want to see accepted in the workplace?

Background: The Literature

In a 1993 study, Smith reports that institutional efforts by colleges to enhance student awareness of multiculturalism have a positive influence on attitudes to affirmative action. He observed that college-educated whites hold more accepting attitudes toward people of color than less educated whites, and that this is even more so for women. He also found that women respond positively to class activities and discussion of racism and cultural issues. Males are more influenced by interpersonal relations, like having a close friend of color.

A recent University of Michigan study-by Lopez et .al. supports Smith's finding that college decreases negative views of affirmative action. In addition, it found that gender differences exist in attitudes toward the consequences of affirmative action—the majority of women and students of color believe racial diversity is valuable. Conversely, two out of three males gave the opposite response.

A 1994 study of more than 15,000 students by Villalpando found that students who reported high levels of satisfaction with college were those who attended racial/cultural awareness workshops and socialized with someone of a different race/ethnic group. All were positively affected by pedagogy that included content on ethnic and racial issues, and research or writing addressing women, ethnicity, or race. It concluded that a school's appreciation for multiculturalism, and commitment to creating a diverse multicultural environment including increasing numbers of women and minority faculty and students, highly impact student satisfaction with college.

This is consistent with Astin's 1993 report in *Change* on a national study of 25,000 students at more than 200 colleges regarding the effects on students of campus diversity and multiculturalism. It found that providing student opportunities to address diversity, and emphasizing diversity in policy, research, and teaching, increased student satisfaction with most aspects of college life, commitment to racial understanding, and cultural awareness.

Writing in *The Journal of Professional Studies* in 1995, James also links curricular vehicles with positive outcomes. He finds that through class discussions, educators can help students understand equity programs as a benefit to career opportunities of all students. Frederick's 1995 article "Walking on Eggs" also emphasizes the pivotal role professors play in promoting constructive diversity discussions with students.

A 1996 literature review by Titus supports these findings as well. He concludes that integrating values of freedom, equality, justice, and human dignity for all people into the curriculum can reduce student prejudice, promote positive student attitudes toward diversity, and increase tolerance.

The literature presents strong support for the impact of education on student attitudes toward diversity. Several studies base their conclusions on student attitudes toward affirmative action in higher education. Given today's students will enter a workforce transformed, and characterized, by affirmative action, it is important to explore student attitudes toward diversity in the workplace.

Results: Survey and Findings

Data was gathered using an original comprehensive survey with more than 100 questions completed in the spring 1997 semester by 229 students at Ramapo College, a 4 year coeducational college part of the New Jersey state system of public higher education. Located 30 minutes from New York City, Ramapo College has more than 4600 students in 5 undergraduate schools, the largest of which is the School of Administration and Business.

Respondents range from freshman to seniors, represent various academic disciplines, and are diverse in family income. Overall, students sampled have considerable work experience and have worked in various types of companies: 35.6% have worked more than 7 years, 38.2% 4-6 years, 19.1% 1-3 years, 7% less than 1 year; 25.7% work for large firms, 29.7% for small, 30.4% for owner-operated, 2 % for self, 12.2% other. Their gender and ethnicity approach that of the workforce: 56.7% male, 43.3% female; 71.6% white, 28.4% non-white.

Terminology

The terms "diversity, minority, and affirmative action" are at the core of this study. Other research indicates these words can mean different things to different people, and might interfere with our findings unless clearly defined. As a result, the following definitions were included with the survey to ensure all respondents answered having the same frame of reference. *Diversity*: the state of being varied, mixed, assorted. *Minority*: a group differing in race, religion, gender, or ethnic background from most of the population. *Affirmative action*: increased representation of women and minorities to equalize opportunity, as specified by U.S. civil rights law.

Student attitudes toward workplace acceptance of specific types of diversity

Respondents were questioned regarding the specific types of diversity they want to see accepted in the workplace. More than 50% feel acceptance at work of all specific types of diversity surveyed is of high importance to them. The order in which respondents rank the importance of these is: race 62.3%, gender 61.8%, national origin 57.0%, age 52.4%, sexual preference 50.8%.

Factors influencing student attitudes regarding Workplace 2000

Using the (low) 1 to 5 (high) scale, the questionnaire surveyed the impact of professor vs. self vs. classmates on student preparation, expectation, and preference for workplace diversity. Respondents say they themselves have most overall impact (average 3.06), professors have second most impact (average 2.84), and classmates have least impact (average 2.66). Overall, respon-

dents report influence of professor, self, and classmates to be relatively strong. Only about 1/3 (36.8%) indicated these have relatively low impact.

Professors have more impact on respondent expectation (2.91) than on preference (2.88), and less impact on preparation (2.85). Respondent characteristics impact their preferences (3.10) more than their expectations (3.06), and their preparation least (3.03). Classmates have slightly more impact on preferences (2.67) than on expectation (2.66), and less on preparation (2.64).

Characteristics affecting student preference, expectation, and preparation for Workplace 2000.

Respondents were questioned regarding which specific characteristics have most influence on student preference, expectation, and preparation for workforce diversity. Characteristics with relatively high overall influence (mean 3+), ranked from most to least impact, are: professor knowledge of diversity (3.38), respondent knowledge of diversity and attitude to diversity (3.36), professor work experience (3.34), respondent work experience (3.30), professor attitude to diversity (3.29), respondent major (3.15), and professor teaching area (3.02).

Characteristics with relatively moderate overall influence (2.62-3.0), ranked from most to least impact are: classmate attitude to diversity (3.0), respondent gender (2.93), respondent race (2.84), respondent age and classmate knowledge of diversity (2.83), respondent national origin (2.74), and classmate race (2.64).

Characteristics with relatively low overall influence (2.61-), ranked from most to least impact are: classmate gender (2.61), professor gender (2.59), classmate national origin and classmate major (2.57), classmate work experience (2.54), professor race and age (2.50), classmate age (2.49), and professor national origin (2.42).

Respondent comments

To ensure respondents were not being led to answers, the survey stated that respondent opinions are important to the study and included a large space for comments. One student wrote: "It was very beneficial to learn about diversity—many people who go to college for the first time have never been around anyone of a different race or do not know/understand diversity. In that sense it is very good. It is also helpful for those people to learn about diversity so they are able to work with others and are aware. They'll have a sense of what's out there and the surroundings they may encounter."

Another student wrote: "I think many people don't realize just how important diversity is in the workplace. Young people should be taught not only at school but also in the home that discrimination is wrong. They should have the opportunity to hang out with people of a different gender, race, age, national origin. This could really help everyone later in life when they enter the work force."

Discussion

Our topic becomes all the more interesting when the context within which it is occurring is taken into account. The voters of California have indicated they want an end to affirmative action. President Clinton contests that and has called for a year long national dialogue on race relations. Black admissions to premiere law schools in California and Texas have fallen significantly this year following their rejection of affirmative action. A recent Gallop Poll reports that a majority of blacks but only about 1/3 whites feel the Federal Government should make "every possible effort" to improve the social and economic position of minority groups.

Americans appear to be more supportive of affirmative action for women than for minorities. A 1995 *Wall Street Journal* report showed 56% backing affirmative action for women, but only 46% supporting affirmative action in general.

The *New York Times* recently reported on a Gallop Poll showing high levels of satisfaction among blacks and tolerance among whites. Specifically, 74% of blacks and 87% of whites report satisfaction with their personal lives and standard of living (up from 45% of blacks and 82% of whites in 1963), 91% of blacks and 93% of whites report willingness to vote for a black Presidential candidate (up from 92% of blacks and 40% of whites in 1963), and 77% of blacks and 61% of whites approve of interracial marriage (up from 60% of black and 25% of whites when the question was first asked in 1972). At the same time, 58% of whites think that quality of life for black Americans has become better over the past decade. Only 33% of blacks think so.

What are the facts? A 1995 Bureau of Census study in *Wall Street Journal* reported that, when adjusted for inflation, median household income fell for blacks between 1980 and 1993 (by \$711), fell even more for Hispanics (by \$2174), and rose for whites (by \$842). In 1993, the average white household earned almost \$18,000 more than a black one.

A particularly germane statistic was reported in the *New York Times* of June 15 1997. Mitchell reported that even if things are relatively good racially, whites and blacks do not feel they will get

better: 54% of blacks and 58% of whites feel race relations will always be a U.S. problem. In 1963, 26% of blacks and 44% of whites felt so.

The importance of efforts such as diversity education that may decrease anxiety and increase collaboration is all the more relevant in light of the *Glass Ceiling Commission Report* conclusions that the principal barrier to advancement for women and minorities is fear and prejudice of white male executives on the lower rungs of the corporate ladder, who see it a direct threat to their own chances for advancement.

Conclusion

The survey results are consistent with the literature that education has an impact on student attitudes. Respondents say college has highly prepared them regarding diversity for the workplace, and strongly influenced their expectations and preferences.

This contributes to the study of student attitudes toward diversity by examining student attitudes toward the diverse workplace, rather than affirmative action in higher education which others have researched. The findings also contribute to the literature by identifying specific characteristics and factors that students feel influential in forming their attitudes toward diversity in the workplace for which they are preparing.

Respondents tell us that professor and respondent knowledge of diversity, work experience, major and teaching area have high impact on students. This suggests that in addition to diversity education being important for students, colleges may find diversity training to be important for professors, just as business is finding it important for both managers and employees.

Research also reveals that students value both diversity and diversity education. It is possible that these students will welcome, benefit from, and contribute to the success of the increasingly diverse workplace and the diversity training programs contemporary business is putting in place. This may be all the more valuable, as many from Texaco to Mitsubishi to Publix to the military have found diversity management a difficult challenge.

Having found that education has an impact on student attitudes and expectations, it is revealing to look at the demographics of contemporary American education. In a June 1995 article by Roberts, *The New York Times* reported on 1990 highest education gains achieved by 25-44 year old blacks and whites. He found the percent who had at least graduated college to be 27.8 of

whites and 15.1 of blacks. That is, 72.2 % of whites and 84.9% of blacks age 25-44 had not graduated from college. The percent who had not attended any college was 40.2 of whites and 51.7 of blacks. The percent who had not completed high school was 10.6 of whites and 20.1 of blacks.

At this time of national dialogue on affirmative action and a workforce changing markedly, these statistics make the topic we are investigating all the more compelling. There appears to be a positive relationship between college and preparation, expectation, and preparation for Workplace 2000, but the great majority of Americans 25-44 are not college graduates.

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Gender, Race, and Socioeconomic Differences: Attitudes and Perceptions of Students About Affirmative Action and Anti-discrimination Policies

Leonard M. Azonobi and Celina Valentina Echols



Introduction

Affirmative action is one of the most controversial and divisive issues in American higher education. Affirmative action was introduced to correct the effects of past discrimination against women and minorities, prevent future gender and racial discrimination, promote diversity and develop competitive advantages in the demographically changing labor market (Wilson, 1985; Wilson, 1995/1996; Edley, 1996). Thus, affirmative action is a specific subset of the general anti-discrimination policies designed to provide equal access and opportunity, and also protect against future discrimination. Americans support for anti-discrimination policies in general and the rejection of affirmative in particular is contradictory. The country's current political climate, attitudes and perceptions show that Americans are divided on the future of affirmative action along gender and racial lines, and along political and socioeconomic margins.

While affirmative action and anti-discrimination policies have direct impact on the lives and career prospects of women and minority students (See Hyclak, Taylor, & Stewart, 1992; U.S. Merit Protection Board, 1992), few studies have examined the attitudes and perceptions of students on both affirmative action and anti-discrimination policies.

Our purpose here is to explore the attitudes and perceptions of students towards affirmative action and anti-discrimination policies at two university campuses. Specifically, we are interested in exploring the following: (1) whether the attitudes and perceptions of students about affirmative

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action and anti-discrimination policies vary along gender and racial lines; and (2) whether one's level of education, income, age, and party affiliation are significant in explaining the differences in attitudes toward affirmative action and anti-discrimination policies.

Research Data and Sample Characteristics

The data for this study was obtained from a survey questionnaire administered to 705 graduate and undergraduate students at the two largest universities in northeastern Ohio. Of this number, 544 (81%) were Whites, 39 (5%) identified themselves as Asians, Hispanics and Native Americans. The other 92 (14%) students were Blacks, all of whom were included in the sample to ensure adequate representation of the group. For various technical reasons, 19 responses were subsequently eliminated from the sample.

Overall, 686 out of 705 students returned usable surveys for a response rate of 97 percent. Of the total respondents, 243 (39%) were males, and 439 (64%) were females. More than half of the respondents 654 (57%) were undergraduates, while 263 (38%) identified themselves as graduate students. Twenty-two percent (151) students identified themselves as Republicans, 39% (264) were Democrats, 21% (142) reported independents, and 15% (104) had no party affiliation. About 33 percent (228) of the respondents were between the ages of 18-22, while 29% (200) were between 23-27 years of age. More than half of the students surveyed claimed family incomes of \$29,000-\$50,000.

Survey Instrumentation

The survey instrument used in this study was developed by the authors through a careful examination of the U.S. government's definition of affirmative action and anti-discrimination policies, review of literature and theory on affirmative action, previous research on race and gender studies, and items generated by the authors (see Schuman and Pressser 1981; Dillman, 1977; Alreck and Settle, 1985; Sudman, 1976). The instrument consisted of 67 questions (items), and about 81 variables. A five-point Likert scale format was used in the questionnaire (i.e., strongly agree to strongly disagree) to provide balanced choices, and to minimize research bias in survey design and analysis. The survey instrument also included a series of questions with "yes" or "no" responses. Two of the 67 items designed to elicit response about affirmative action and anti-discrimination policies were used in the present study.

The two items were: (1) "Do you support affirmative action as a policy to remedy past discrimination?", and (2) "Do you support anti-discrimination policies to protect against future discrimination?" These two items are henceforth in this study referred to as affirmative action (specific) and anti-discrimination (general) or the specific and the general affirmative action items.

Statistical Analyses

We rely on the use of descriptive statistics such as cross-tabulations to assess the support for specific and general affirmative action items by gender, race and relevant background factors such as age, education, income and party affiliation. One-way analysis of variance for comparison of group means was used to determine whether differences exist in the attitudes of students toward affirmative action and anti-discrimination policies by gender, race, age, education, income and party affiliation. Multivariate analysis of variance (one-way manova) and analysis of covariance (ancova) with the univariate F-tests for comparison of group means was used to show that the significant differences found were not due to interactions of gender and race with other relevant factors identified above. We begin the analysis of responses by considering the configuration of support for affirmative action and anti-discrimination by gender, race, age, income, education and party affiliation with the use of cross-tabulations.

Results

Table 1.1 below reports the cross-tabulations of the responses to the specific item of affirmative action by gender. Of the 666 students who responded to the question, 41.9% of both males and females support affirmative action. The majority of both males and females (58.1%) oppose affirmative action. The proportion of females (28.5%) supporting affirmative action was higher than the proportion of males (13.4%) supporting it. Also, the proportion of females (35.7%) opposing affirmative action was higher than the proportion of males (22.4%) opposing it. Results of the one-way anova revealed no statistically significant difference between males and females in their support for affirmative action ($F = 3.0816, p < .0796$). The mean response for both males and females was 0.42 compared to the mean response for males (0.38) and females (0.44). The results suggest that males were as likely as females to both support and oppose affirmative action.

Table 1.1 Support for Affirmative Action by Gender

	No	Yes	Total
Male	22.4% (149)	13.4% (89)	35.7% (238)
Female	35.7% (238)	28.5% (190)	64.3% (428)
Total	58.1% (387)	41.9% (279)	100.0% (666)

Table 1.2 below reports the cross-tabulations of the responses to the general item of anti-discrimination by gender. There was overwhelming support for this general item by both males and females in sharp contrast to the specific item of affirmative action. Of the 673 students who responded to the question, 88.0% of both males and females favor anti-discrimination policies. About 30% (206) of the males and 57.4% (386) of the females favor anti-discrimination policies. There was negligible opposition to anti-discrimination policies (12.0%). The one-way anova results revealed no statistically significant difference between males and females in their support for anti-discrimination policies ($F = 2.1943$, $p < .1390$). The mean response for both males and females was 0.88, compared to the mean response for males (0.86) and females (0.89). These results suggest that males were as likely as females to support anti-discrimination policies.

Table 1.2 Support for Anti-discrimination by Gender

	No	Yes	Total
Male	5.2% (35)	30.0% (206)	35.8% (241)
Female	6.8% (46)	57.4% (386)	64.2% (432)
Total	12.0% (81)	88.0% (592)	100.0% (673)

Table 2.1 below reports of the cross-tabulations of the responses to the specific item of affirmative action by race. White students were overwhelmingly opposed to affirmative action compared to Blacks and other ethnic minorities. Fifty-two percent (344) of Whites said they oppose affirmative action as a policy to remedy past discrimination, compared to 28.5% (188) that support affirmative action. Almost all Blacks (10.6%) and other ethnic minorities (2.9%) in the survey said they support affirmative action. One-way anova results showed that significant differences exist between Blacks and Whites, and between Blacks and other (mixed race) in their support for affirmative action. ($F = 13.7009$, $p < .0000$). The mean response for all the races was 0.42 compared to the mean response for Whites (0.35), Blacks (0.78), Hispanics (0.75), Asians (0.60), Native Americans (0.43) and other (0.31). These results suggest that Blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and Native Americans generally had more positive attitudes toward affirmative action than Whites and Other.

Table 2.1 Support for Affirmative Action by Race

	No	Yes	Total
White	52.1% (344)	28.5% (188)	80.6% (532)
Black	3.0% (20)	10.6% (70)	13.6% (90)
Hisp.	0.3% (2)	0.9% (6)	1.2% (8)
Asian	0.6% (4)	0.9% (6)	1.5% (10)
N.Amer.	0.6% (4)	0.5% (3)	1.1% (7)
Other	1.4% (9)	0.6% (4)	2.0% (13)
Total	58.0% (383)	42.0% (277)	100.0% (660)

Table 2.2 Support for Anti-discrimination by Race

	No	Yes	Total
White	10.1% (67)	70.4% (469)	80.5% (536)
Black	1.0% (7)	12.6% (84)	13.7% (91)
Hisp.	0.2% (1)	1.2% (8)	1.9% (9)
Asian	0.0% (0)	1.5% (10)	1.5% (10)
N.Amer.	0.3% (2)	0.8% (5)	1.1% (7)
Other	0.6% (4)	1.4% (9)	2.0% (13)
Total	12.2% (81)	87.8% (585)	100.0% (666)

Table 2.2 above shows the cross-tabulations of the responses to the general item of anti-discrimination by race. There was strong support for anti-discrimination policies by all races, 70.4% (469) for Whites, 12.6% for Blacks, and a combined 4.9% (39) for all other ethnic minority groups. Overall, support for anti-discrimination was 87.8% (585). Anova results revealed no statistically significant differences between the races in their support for anti-discrimination policies ($F = 1.8348$, $p < .1039$). The results suggest that all races were as likely to support anti-discrimination policies.

Table 3.1 below shows the cross-tabulations of the responses to the specific item of affirmative action by age. Respectively, about twenty-one percent (140) and 17.1% (113) of the respondents between the ages of 18-22 and 23-27 were opposed to affirmative action. Support for affirmative action by the same age cohort were 12.6% (83) and 12.7% (84), respectively. The one-way anova results showed that significant differences exist between the age groups in their attitudes towards affirmative action ($F = 3.2960$, $p < .0019$). Significant differences were found for students between the ages of 18-22 and 44-48, and those between the ages of 23-27 and 49-53 in their attitudes towards the affirmative action. The mean response for all the age cohort was 0.42 compared to the mean response for those 18-22 (0.37), 23-27 (0.43), 44-48 (0.63) and 49-53 (0.77). These results suggest age gap between those 18-27 and those 44-48 in their attitudes toward affirmative

Table 3.1 Support for Affirmative Action by Age Cohort

	No	Yes	Total
18-22	21.2% (140)	12.6% (83)	33.7% (223)
23-27	17.1% (113)	12.7% (84)	29.8% (197)
28-32	7.7% (51)	4.4% (29)	12.1% (80)
33-37	4.7% (31)	3.5% (23)	8.2% (54)
38-43	5.0% (33)	3.2% (21)	8.2% (54)
44-48	2.0% (13)	3.5% (23)	5.6% (36)
49-53	0.5% (3)	1.5% (10)	2.0% (13)
54-57	0.0% (0)	0.6% (4)	0.6% (4)
Total	58.1% (384)	41.9% (277)	100.0% (661)

action. Young people (18-27) were less likely to support affirmative action compared to the older generation (44-53).

Table 3.2 indicates that the same age cohort (18-27) overwhelmingly support anti-discrimination policies. There was no statistically significant difference between the age groups in their attitudes toward anti-discrimination policies ($F= 1.2835$, $p < .2557$).

Table 3.2 Support for Anti-discrimination by Age Cohort

	No	Yes	Total
18-22	4.0% (27)	29.5% (197)	33.5% (224)
23-27	3.4% (23)	26.2% (175)	29.6% (198)
28-32	2.1% (14)	10.2% (68)	12.3% (82)
33-37	0.2% (3)	7.8% (52)	8.1% (54)
38-43	0.7% (5)	7.3% (49)	8.1% (54)
44-48	1.0% (7)	4.5% (30)	5.5% (37)
49-53	0.4% (3)	1.8% (12)	2.2% (15)
54-57	0.0% (0)	0.6% (4)	0.6% (4)
Total	12.1% (81)	87.9% (587)	100.0% (668)

Table 4.1 below reports the cross-tabulations of the responses to the affirmative action by level of education. Overall, 58% of graduated and undergraduate students oppose affirmative action, compared to 42% that support it. There was no significant difference between graduate and undergraduate students in their attitudes toward affirmative action ($F= 2.2797$, $p < .0453$). The results suggest that freshmen and graduate students were more likely to support affirmative action than sophomores, juniors and seniors.

Table 4.1 Support for Affirmative Action by Education

	No	Yes	Total
Freshman	0.9% (6)	1.8% (12)	2.7% (18)
Sophomore	6.3% (42)	3.9% (26)	10.2% (68)
Junior	9.8% (65)	6.0% (40)	15.8% (105)
Senior	18.5% (123)	10.4% (69)	28.9% (192)
Graduate	20.6% (137)	18.2% (121)	38.9% (258)
Other	1.8% (12)	1.7% (11)	3.5% (23)
Total	58.0% (385)	42.0% (279)	100.0% (664)

As Table 4.2 indicates, there was strong support for anti-discrimination policies by levels of education, 43.9% (234) for graduate students, seniors (24.6%), juniors (13.4%), sophomores (9.1%), and freshmen (2.5%). No significant difference was found between graduate and undergraduate students in their attitudes toward anti-discrimination policies ($F= .6290$, $p < .6777$).

Table 4.2 Support for Anti-discrimination by Education

	No	Yes	Total
Freshman	0.1% (1)	2.5% (17)	2.7% (18)
Sophomore	1.3% (9)	9.1% (6)	10.4% (70)
Junior	2.4% (16)	13.4% (90)	15.8% (106)
Senior	3.9% (26)	24.6% (165)	28.5% (191)
Graduate	3.9% (26)	34.9% (234)	38.7% (260)
Other	0.4% (3)	3.4% (23)	3.9% (26)
Total	12.1% (81)	87.9% (590)	100.0% (671)

Tables 5.1 and 5.2 below reports the support for affirmative action and anti-discrimination by family income. Support as well as opposition to affirmative action were concentrated in the following family income brackets: \$29,000-\$39,000 and \$52,000 or more. There was no statistically significant difference between all income classes in their attitudes toward the affirmative action item ($F = .3769$, $p < .8647$). However, those in the income bracket of \$29,000 - \$39,000 and \$52,000+ were less likely to support affirmative action. Support for anti-discrimination policies were evenly distributed among all income brackets, with a total of 88.8% favoring the policies. There was no statistically significant differences between the income classes in their attitudes toward anti-discrimination policies ($F = .7062$, $p < .6189$).

Table 5.1 Support for Affirmative Action by Income Class

	No	Yes	Total
Under \$7,000	3.8% (24)	3.1% (20)	6.9% (44)
\$7,000 - \$17,000	7.4% (47)	6.4% (41)	13.8% (88)
\$18,000 - \$28,000	7.5% (48)	5.6% (36)	13.1% (84)
\$29,000 - \$39,000	12.1% (77)	8.0% (51)	20.0% (128)
\$40,000 - \$50,000	8.9% (57)	6.1% (39)	15.0% (96)
\$52,000 or MORE	18.9% (121)	12.2% (78)	31.1% (199)
Total	58.5% (374)	41.5% (265)	100.0% (639)

Table 5.2 Support for Anti-discrimination by Income Class

	No	Yes	Total
Under \$7,000	0.6% (4)	5.6% (38)	6.5% (42)
\$7,000 - \$17,000	0.9% (6)	13.0% (84)	14.0% (90)
\$18,000 - \$28,000	1.9% (12)	11.3% (73)	13.2% (85)
\$29,000 - \$39,000	2.2% (14)	17.7% (114)	19.8% (128)
\$40,000 - \$50,000	1.7% (11)	13.5% (87)	15.2% (98)
\$52,000 or MORE	4.2% (4)	27.1% (175)	31.3% (202)
Total	11.5% (74)	88.5% (571)	100.0% (645)

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Table 6.1 below reports the support for affirmative action by party affiliation. Approximately 19.3% (127) of the respondents identifying with the Democratic Party are opposed to affirmative action compared 15.5% (104) of those identifying themselves with the Republican Party. Only about 6.5% (43) who identified themselves as Republicans support affirmative action, compared to 19.9% (131) of the Democrats. About 13.8% (91) of those identifying themselves as Independent oppose affirmative action. Significant differences exist among the political groups in their attitudes towards affirmative action ($F = 5.3927, p < .0003$). Significant differences were found between Democrats and Republicans, and between Republicans and those without party affiliation (none) in their attitudes toward affirmative action. The mean response for all party affiliation was 0.42, compared to the mean response for Republicans (0.29), Democrats (0.51), Independents (0.36), and others (0.50). These results suggest that Republicans were less likely to support affirmative action than Democrats and the Independents.

Table 6.1 Support for Affirmative Action by Party Line

	No	Yes	Total
Republican	15.8% (104)	6.5% (43)	22.3% (147)
Democrat	19.3% (127)	19.9% (131)	39.2% (258)
Indenpen.	13.8% (91)	7.6% (50)	21.4% (141)
None	8.5% (56)	6.8% (45)	15.3% (101)
Other	0.9% (6)	0.9% (6)	1.8% (12)
Total	58.3% (384)	41.7% (275)	100.0% (659)

Table 6.2 Support for Anti-discrimination by Party Line

	No	Yes	Total
Republican	5.0% (33)	17.7% (118)	22.7% (151)
Democrat	2.3% (15)	36.8% (245)	39.1% (260)
Indenpen.	2% (19)	18.3% (122)	21.2% (141)
None	1.4% (9)	13.7% (91)	15.0% (100)
Other	0.6% (4)	1.4% (9)	2.0% (13)
Total	12.0% (80)	88.0% (585)	100.0% (665)

As Table 6.2 above indicates, support for anti-discrimination among students by party affiliation was fairly distributed across party lines. Significant differences were found among the political groups in their attitudes towards anti-discrimination ($F = 7.4858, p < .0000$). There was significant differences between Democrats and Republicans, and between Republicans and those without party affiliation (none). The mean response along party line was 0.88 compared to the mean response for Republicans (0.78), Democrats (0.94), Independent (0.87), and None (0.91). These results suggest that Democrats, independents, and those without party affiliation were more likely to support affirmative action than Republicans.

To demonstrate that the significant differences found between the races were not due to interaction effects, we checked for gender-race interaction effects and controlled for relevant background factors so that we can draw our conclusions with considerable certainty that the differences obtained are due to race as opposed to gender and some other factor(s). Table 6.3 shows the results of the multivariate analysis of variance (manova) for each of the items, the significance levels for gender and race main effects, two-way interactions (gender and race), and significance levels for the covariates.

Table 6.3 Results of Multivariate Analysis of Variance

Independent Variable	Affirmative Action Item F Value	Anti-Discrimination Item F Value
Main Effects	11.882 (.000)*	2.445 (.024)*
Gender	3.827 (.051)	1.665 (.197)
Race	13.715 (.000)*	2.518 (.029)*
Covariates		
Age	1.421 (.225)	.922 (.451)
Income	3.351 (.068)	.000 (.989)
Education	.343 (.558)	.954 (.329)
PolParty	.125 (.723)	.460 (.498)
2-Way Interactions		
Gender Race	.715 (.612)	2.543 (.027)*
R-Square	.11	.03

Significance levels are shown in parentheses.

* Statistically significant effects ($p < .05$)

There was no statistically significant interactions between gender and race for the affirmative action item ($p < .612$). The main effect for gender was not significant ($p < .051$), while the main effect for race was statistically significant ($p < .000$). There were no statistically significant covariation of gender and race with age, income, education and party affiliation. There was significant interaction between gender and race for the general anti-discrimination item ($p < .027$). The main effect for race was statistically significant ($p < .029$), while the main effect for gender was not significant ($p < .197$). There were no statistically significant covariation of gender and race with age, income, education and party affiliation. These results suggest that race was the major source of variation in the attitudes of students toward affirmative action. The effect of race was far much significant than gender on the issues of affirmative action and anti-discrimination. Other factors such as age, income, education and party affiliation were much less important in explaining the attitudes and perceptions of students toward affirmative action and anti-discrimination policies.

Conclusion and Discussion

The findings of this study show that race was the major source of variation in the attitudes of students toward affirmative action and anti-discrimination policies. The effect of race was far much significant than gender on the issues of affirmative action and anti-discrimination. Although all races were likely to support anti-discrimination, significant differences exist among the races in regards to affirmative action. In fact, gender was not statistically significant in explaining affirmative action or anti-discrimination policies. Other factors such as age, income, education and party affiliation when combined were less important in explaining the attitudes and perceptions of students toward affirmative action and anti-discrimination policies. However, differences in age (age gap) and party affiliation when considered independently were statistically significant in explaining the attitudes and perceptions of students about affirmative action.

The opposition to affirmative action on one hand, and the overwhelming support for anti-discrimination policies on the other, are totally contradictory, and an indication of attitudinal instability emanating from racial polarization about affirmative action. Wilson's (1980) theory on the declining significance of race does not hold for this sample of students at the two institutions.

Our findings on the importance of race are consistent with other studies of attitudes toward affirmative action. Smith and Sneed (1989) found that race, in modern times, is a very important factor because it is directly related to upward mobility. Witt (1990 p. 57) indicated that support for racial equality and affirmative action issues are high in abstract, but lower when specific implementations of affirmative action are faced by respondents. Costantini and King (1985, p. 502) found that the level of support for affirmative action depends on whether the targeted beneficiaries are other minorities or women. Non-white minorities were more likely to support affirmative action than white minorities.

The opposition to affirmative action and support for anti-discrimination by age suggests that young people (18-27) have settled comfortably in more conservative attitudes toward affirmative action. Also, students attitudes towards affirmative action and anti-discrimination appear to be structured by the general realm of politics and party affiliation.

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Higher Education: Some Gaps for Women Close While Others Widen

Susan Fleming and Anthony Golden



"School research can be an intervention, a catalyst for positive change" (AAUW, 1996).

While these words are from an AAUW study of female students in junior high, this same need—the need for change—extends all the way to the doctoral level. At a time when increasing numbers of women continue their education past the four-year degree in previously "male" fields such as psychology, research indicates that these fields are still seen by the public as "male" domains (Feingold, 1993) despite the efforts of groups such as the AAUW. This paper reports on a comparison of men and women graduating from American colleges and universities between 1988 and 1997 in content area knowledge across a variety of academic disciplines. It was anticipated that in the light of greater emphasis on preparing women in math and science, women would be likelier to take courses in these areas as well as perform at a level comparable to that of their male counterparts.

The number of women in the sciences is increasing (Keyes & Hogberg, 1990). For example, psychology undergraduates are now nearly 80% women (Fleming, Causey, & Golden, 1996) and women now outnumber men graduating with majors in biology. For these fields, a professional level career requires one or more post-graduate degrees. A 1995 study of psychology doctorates awarded showed that despite the higher percentage of women entering the profession, more men earn the doctorate in those areas which strongly emphasize research and "pure" science, such as physiological, comparative, and psychometric psychology (Henderson, Clarke, and Reynolds, 1995).

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Haven't women already won the battle in science? At the 1965 M.I.T. Symposium for American Women in Science and Engineering, Mary Bunting (in Mattfeld & Van Aken, 1965) reported, "National Merit Studies indicate that girls have in fact been more responsive than boys to the post-Sputnik push." Today, Rosalind Franklin's work with DNA has at last been recognized. Rita Levi-Montalcini's discovery of neuronal growth factor received its due credit. In *Women in Science*, Vivian Gornick quotes one woman working in genetics, "We stand at the edge of the new world, making a fire to light up the frontier, and we who are working in genetics are in the cauldron. We burn with it, go to sleep with it, eat drink, taste, smell, and feel it all the time." In spite of these apparent advances, women's efforts are still met with skepticism by their male colleagues. "Well? The doors are open now to women, and where are the great scientists?" (a nuclear physicist identified by Gornick under the pseudonym 'I.I. Rabi,' 1990).

According to research conducted by Brooks and Betz in 1990, women were more likely to end their studies at the undergraduate level, while men were more likely to continue. Other studies have reported that academic achievement is influenced by the parents' educational history (Dunlop & Canale, 1988). However, a 1997 study by Garver and Golden found no significant connection between the amount and type of parental education and the degree aspirations of college seniors. These findings indicate that there may be other more influential factors upon education choices and ambitions.

The AAUW study cited at the beginning of this paper found that a mentor provided excellent results in encouraging and increasing the scholastic efforts and achievements of middle school girls. If such mentors are difficult to find at earlier levels of education, what about the situation in college? Women who do continue education may thus find themselves without adequate preparation. Recent research indicates that cross-gender mentoring may be less effective (Fouad & Carter, 1992). This can prove to be a particular obstacle to women where male faculty are in the majority and female students are in the minority.

Together, these findings suggest that regardless of attempts to create equity, women may still be disadvantaged in their college studies by a variety of factors, some more easily changed than others. It has become essential to determine the degree to which undergraduate education serves to reduce or widen gender gaps in specific areas of study.

One way to measure the impact of a four-year college education is through the assessment of student learning outcomes. Originating both regionally and nationally in the late 1970s (Ostar, 1986; Rudolph & Nixon, 1986) student outcomes assessment now is included as a criterion for

accreditation by all of the regional accrediting organizations and many societies which accredit professional programs. In the majors, the application of assessment often combines curricular evaluation and development (Marchese, 1989) with measurements of student achievement. The combination of the measurement of student learning with the evaluation of institutional priorities and curricula, has led to the development of specialized measurement models and instruments (Golden, & Squire, 1991; Roth, Golden, & Chaplin, 1993).

The Project for Area Concentration Achievement Testing (PACAT) is a university-based national outcomes assessment project. PACAT surveys academic curricula by content area, solicits examination items from participating departments, and constructs, distributes, and scores the Area Concentration Achievement Test (ACAT). At this time, the project has performance data on over 30,000 college students either at the start or conclusion of their majors.

Exit exams such as the ACAT and the MFAT (Major Field Achievement Test of the Educational Testing Service) focus on individual majors while others like the ACT-COMP (College Outcomes Measurement Project) and Academic Profile (Educational Testing Service) examine more global concepts such as "understanding science" or "functioning in social institutions." All of these exams obtain enough personal information to permit the examination of possible gender differences (Graham & Cockriel, 1989). Rather than devising even more new data collection techniques, Ewell (1991) has recommended that existing data sources be used to examine new issues concerning the process and products of higher education in America.

The present study compared men and women college graduates on an existing measure, the ACAT. Performance differences between men and women in the content area subscores, the likelihood of course choice by men and women, and where possible the impact of those courses on test performance were examined.

Method

The score records and demographic data from 14,624 graduating seniors tested between June 1988 and May 1997 were used for this study. Of those indicating their gender, 72% (N=10,331) were women and 28% (N=4,011) were men. The average age of the sample was 27 years and ranged from 19 to 93. The distribution of ages indicated that 50% of the sample was 23 or younger at graduation and 75% were under 28 years of age. The mean ages of the men (26.9) and the women (27.2) did not differ ($p>.05$). Men and women did, however, differ in their graduate plans with 71% of the women and 61% of the men planning graduate studies ($p<.001$).

All of the students took the Area Concentration Achievement Test in their major during their final year of studies. The students used for the present sample signed a statement permitting their demographic information and scores to be used for research purposes. The distribution of subjects by discipline and gender is contained in Table 1.

Table 1. Gender Distribution Across Disciplines in the Sample

Discipline	Women		Men	
	N	%	N	%
Art	140	60.3	92	39.7
Agriculture	117	23.7	376	76.3
Biology	745	59.3	512	40.7
Criminal Justice	300	36.4	524	63.6
Literature in English	362	75.6	117	24.4
Political Science	351	39.1	546	60.9
Psychology	4,183	76.2	1,308	23.8
Social Work	4,133	88.5	536	11.5

The Area Concentration Achievement Test (ACAT) is a college-level outcomes exam for academic majors used by 257 colleges and universities nationwide. It provides subscores for individual content areas within each discipline. The disciplines included in the present study are agriculture, art, biology, criminal justice, literature in English, political science, psychology, and social work. The ACAT has a demographic section which gathers information about gender, race, age, and education plans. The ACATs are reviewed and revised periodically, on the average of every 3 years, to remove gender and racially sensitive items.

Results

The data were examined for each content area subtest within each discipline. The sample was examined both as a whole and limited just to those students planning to pursue graduate studies. Examinations were made using the *Chi-Square* test of the frequencies with which men and women took courses in the content areas. Subtest scores were compared using the *t*-test for groups. In both cases, more conservative criteria were used than would typically be the case because of the large samples involved in the study. Among the questions asked were whether or not both genders were equally likely to take courses in the various content areas, whether or not the genders performed equivalently on the subtests associated with each content area, and whether or not taking a course in the area contributed equally to the success of men and women on the subtest.

No differences were obtained on the art ACAT either in the likelihood that men and women would take particular courses or in the subtest scores. For graduating seniors in literature in English, there was only one difference between men and women in courses chosen. Women were more likely than men to take a course in American Literature after 1865 ($p < .005$). Among all students who had not taken the course, men performed better in this area ($p < .009$).

In agriculture (see Table 2), if students were planning to attend graduate school and had not taken courses in the area, men did significantly better in the area of animal science. Overall, regardless of post-baccalaureate plans, men did significantly better on the general agriculture subtest if they had taken a relevant course. Men also performed better whether or not they had taken course work on the plant science and soil science subtests. Although women who had not taken courses in agricultural mechanics and animal science performed more poorly than did men who had not taken these courses, no difference was found between men and women who reported taking courses in these two areas. Men were, however, more likely than women to take a course in agricultural mechanics ($p < .01$).

Table 2. Gender Differences on the Agriculture ACAT Subtests

	Taking Course		Not Taking Course	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Planning Graduate Studies				
General	525	581	524	525
Animal Science	513	541	374	455*
Genetics	566	572	478	483
Plant Science	529	556	434	458
Soil Science	484	539	442	472
Agricultural Mechanics	476	528	447	495
Agri-Business	539	510	469	491
Rural Sociology	537	533	509	508
Forestry and Wildlife	513	575	491	529
All Students				
General	418	534*	482	505
Animal Science	520	522	428	461*
Genetics	524	527	480	475
Plant Science	489	527*	423	464*
Soil Science	475	514*	427	473*
Agricultural Mechanics	473	499	438	491*
Agri-Business	507	505	454	472
Rural Sociology	525	509	509	506
Forestry and Wildlife	537	591	483	510

*The two values differ significantly when compared using the *t*-test for independent samples ($p < .01$).

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In social work, there were no courses either gender seemed likelier to take. Whether or not they planned to attend graduate school, men did better on the research methods subtest if they'd taken a course in this area when compared to women who also had taken a course in this area (see Table 3).

Table 3: Gender Differences on the Social Work ACAT Subtests				
	Taking Course		Not Taking Course	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Planning Graduate Studies				
Policy	505	516	477	473
Practice	515	511	481	466
Human Behavior	511	511	499	487
Research Methods	511	529*	477	490
All Students				
Policy	502	513	471	472
Practice	511	508	472	467
Human Behavior	507	506	488	476
Research Methods	508	527*	474	478

Like social work, no gender related course choices were observed for majors in criminal justice. Among those with graduate school plans who had taken a course in law enforcement, men did better than women ($p < .006$). This difference also was observed for all students overall ($p < .01$).

In political science, men overall were likelier to take a course in normative research and empirical theory ($p < .002$). This difference was not evident for men and women planning to attend graduate school. No differences were obtained in any of the comparisons between men and women in the area of normative research and empirical theory. However, men performed significantly better than women on all of the other subtests (see Table 4).

In psychology, men overall were likelier to take courses in environmental psychology ($p < .005$), learning and cognition ($p < .007$), industrial and organizational psychology ($p < .001$), and physiological psychology ($p < .004$). Men planning graduate studies who had taken a course in abnormal psychology scored higher on this subtest than did their female counterparts (see Table 5). Men also outperformed women in the area of human learning and cognition but this difference was eliminated among students taking a course in this area. With or without the appropriate courses, graduate school bound men scored higher than women in animal learning and physiological psychology. Men scored higher on the statistics subtest than women under all circumstances. On the

Table 4: Gender Differences on the Political Science ACAT Subtests

	Taking Course		Not Taking Course	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Planning Graduate Studies				
U.S. Government	511	542*	440	485*
International Politics	487	536*	424	492*
Public Administration	500	528	462	521
Normative and Empirical Theory	523	533	487	493
All Students				
U.S. Government	501	527*	434	482*
International Politics	478	528*	427	489*
Public Administration	490	518*	457	506*
Normative and Empirical Theory	512	523	483	491

*The two values differ significantly when compared using the Test for independent samples ($p < .01$).

Table 5: Gender Differences on the Psychology ACAT Subtests

	Taking Course		Not Taking Course	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Planning Graduate Studies				
Abnormal	506	520*	462	475
Animal Learning	527	548*	481	507*
Clinical	524	517	487	503
Development	524	510*	494	480
Experimental Methods	507	515	462	465
History	507	515	454	470
Learning and Cognition	525	533	482	499*
Personality	527	532	493	491
Physiological	519	537*	466	484*
Sensation and Perception	534	542	476	493
Social	510	515	481	471
Statistics	502	531*	456	486*
All Students				
Abnormal	501	509	454	467
Animal Learning	523	536	478	498*
Clinical	519	494	480	484
Development	520	500*	491	470*
Experimental Methods	504	510	458	464
History	505	510	450	463
Learning and Cognition	521	523	481	491
Personality	524	521	487	481
Physiological	519	529	465	477
Sensation and Perception	531	535	473	492
Social	509	514	478	473
Statistics	498	532*	452	483*

*The two values differ significantly when compared using the Test for independent samples ($p < .01$).

developmental psychology subtest, women planning graduate studies performed better only if they had taken a course in the area. For women overall, not just those with graduate plans, scores were higher than men's regardless of whether or not a course was taken.

In biology, overall, men were more likely to report taking courses in ecology ($p < .001$) and evolution ($p < .01$). Regardless of graduate school plans, men were likelier to take invertebrate zoology ($p < .001$). Overall, men scored higher on the animal physiology and ecology subtests if they had taken the course (see Table 6). Women were likelier to take a course in embryology ($p < .01$). But only those women who planned graduate studies did better on the embryology subtest if they took the course.

Table 6: Gender Differences on the Biology ACAT Subtests

	Taking Course		Not Taking Course	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Planning Graduate Studies				
Animal Physiology	507	538*	507	538
Bacteriology	524	515	473	477
Biochemistry	514	535	419	436
Cellular Biology	497	508	456	460
Ecology	489	525*	465	492
Embryology	552	450*	447	485
Evolution	522	541	475	480
Genetics	489	498	442	435
Anatomy	480	508	414	481
Invertebrate Zoology	494	542	593	582
Plant Physiology	494	537	479	505
Vertebrate Zoology	598	590	584	620
All Students				
Animal Physiology	504	537*	457	483*
Bacteriology	517	512	472	486
Biochemistry	505	535	423	435
Cellular Biology	487	498	451	466
Ecology	484	518*	454	487*
Embryology	524	465	452	472
Evolution	542	535	466	475
Genetics	485	497	437	433
Anatomy	475	494	419	468
Invertebrate Zoology	478	543	580	563
Plant Physiology	505	534	491	513
Vertebrate Zoology	590	624	579	588

*The two values differ significantly when compared using the t-test for independent samples ($p < .01$).

Discussion

A number of suggestive differences were obtained between men and women among the various disciplines. Although 72% of the members of the sample are women, their enrollment is not distributed equally across the disciplines. Women are by far the majority of graduates in literature in English, psychology, and social work while men predominate in agriculture, and criminal justice.

Few if any differences were obtained from art, literature or criminal justice. In literature, women are somewhat more likely to take a course in American literature after 1865, which would represent a major component of American women's literature. In criminal justice, men performed better in the area of law enforcement, traditionally a male dominated field. These and other instances of anticipated gender differences suggest strongly that the techniques used in the present study were sound.

Differences in the agriculture test could also have been predicted from traditional stereotypes. Men performed better in animal science, plant science, soil science, and animal science. It is interesting to note that college courses were able to reduce and in some cases eliminate these differences.

Men outperformed women in virtually all of the fields tested in political science except research methods when it was taken as a course. Since taking college level courses has little impact on these differences, it is likely that men and women do not benefit equally from K-12 courses which deal with issues of American government and politics.

Examining the data from those disciplines which make use of a variety of scientific methodologies, there were indeed differences in performance of women and men in these areas. At least one of the factors which might underlie this difference may be seen in the political science data.

While both men and women planning graduate studies were equally likely to take courses in research methodology, women who did not plan to continue in the field were significantly less likely to take the course than their male counterparts. This suggests the possibility that women may require stronger motivation, such as graduate school admission, to take the course.

In psychology, men were more likely to take courses in the areas typically seen as experimental. Men also scored higher than women in most of these areas whether or not they had taken a course specifically in the area. One of the largest differences was found for men on the statistics subtest who reported not having taken a course in statistics. Sadly, the only area in which women outperformed men on the psychology test was development, an area of psychology more tradi-

tionally populated by women than men. As with men in statistics, women scored higher on this subtest regardless of whether or not they had taken a course in it.

Unfortunately, these findings strongly suggest that men are already prepared in some areas strongly associated with scientific research prior to taking the major while women are more likely to be familiar with issues surrounding child development. The potential sources of this discrepancy would predate the college major and would most likely be found either in the general education component of the baccalaureate or in the K-12 curriculum which precedes it.

In biology, a relatively balanced field with respect to gender, men still performed better in some areas, such as animal physiology and ecology. Women were more likely to take and perform more highly in embryology, a required course for many medical technology and nursing programs.

It is possible that the present study's findings with respect to statistics are similar to Bridgeman and Wendler's (1991) finding that, regardless of college course performance, women tested out more poorly in math than men on standardized tests. However, the differences found here were in areas which deal with conceptual applications of mathematics rather than actual problem solving. In other areas, gaps actually did not appear unless students had taken the corresponding course(s) as part of their major, with women performing more poorly on the test in almost all of these instances. Whether or not students planned graduate school did not seem to alter these findings, although men planning graduate study were likelier to take a more science-intensive course load.

Men and women do not self-select the same courses in college. Men and women do not enter college equally prepared to benefit from some types of course content. College courses are not sufficient to eliminate the differences which remain after the first 12 years of education. Men and women still appear to be unequally prepared in areas of civics, American government, and the methodology of scientific investigation.

The data from the present study fit all too easily into the pattern of widely described inequities in K-12 and college education. The fact that these inequities persist in the face of nationwide attempts to reduce them is dismaying to say the least. In an environment in which at least one major standardized testing organization has declared gender differences in test scores of math and verbal ability to have vanished and government agencies prescribe educational goals in which the issue of gender equity is woefully silent, it is imperative that investigations of potential problems continue.

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Strategies that Enhance the Persistence of Older Female Graduate Students

Nancy D. Hall



Introduction

This is a study about variables that enhance the persistence of older female graduate students. My interest stems from my experiences in managing adult graduate programs. At one institution where I worked, I recruited 50 percent each of men and women, but graduated 82 percent men. The women left for nonacademic reasons. They maintained higher grade point averages, both as persisters and nonpersisters. Unlike the men, they internalized any perceived failure or shortfall. They were less informed about financial aid and were funded by their organizations less frequently than males. I had often wondered if higher education leaders were concerned about the attrition of academically-qualified students, what the current thinking was, what remedies would arise from the study of dropping out, and if there were anything I could contribute to the body of knowledge about the factors that influence persistence.

To those ends, I researched the literature about persistence, retention, and attrition; older, female, nontraditional, commuter, and graduate students; financial aid and patterns of funding; and strategic enrollment management, total quality management, and other successful programs. I contacted Linda S. Hagedorn, the author of *Graduate Retention: An Investigation of Factors Relating to Older Female Graduate Students* (1993, ASHE). She was kind enough to send me a copy of the survey she had used to conduct research at the University of Illinois, Chicago. It was designed by Ernest Pascarella, John Smart, Amaury Nora, Corinna Ethington, John Braxton, and Linda Hagedorn, all leaders in the field of persistence. I conducted the research at The George Washington University, The American University, and The Catholic University of America.

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The study concluded that there are twenty-two significant variables. While some findings have no policy implications, some variables may be amenable to institutional intervention by: (1) encouraging full-time enrollment; (2) forming cohorts and study groups; (3) monitoring student success as measured by grade point average; (4) collecting and analyzing data on student perceptions of their progress and intentions and, if necessary, conducting intrusive counseling; (5) providing adequate financial aid information and support; and (6) sensitizing staff and faculty to the fact that attrition is an addressable problem, not one to be accepted as merely a natural phenomenon of graduate education.

Older female graduate students have needs and values, perceptions and expectations, and patterns of interaction that differ from traditional-aged or male students (Barkhymer & Dorsett, 1991, p. 4, Pirnot, 1987, p. 20). Their needs for social and academic interaction (Tinto, 1975, pp. 104-110) may parallel those of others, but such variables as lack of information about or receipt of financial aid (Chickering, 1976, p. 19), perceived inhospitable climate (Sandler, Silverberg & Hall, 1996, Sandler, 1991, p. 16), part-time enrollment status (Bean & Metzner, 1985, p. 488), lack of self-esteem or confidence (Caracelli, 1986, pp. 17-18), or learning styles more connected than separate (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger & Tarule, 1986, pp. 101-102) may adversely affect their persistence and graduation.

Older female students are "those desiring to continue their education after a substantial leave, commonly associated with child rearing or family responsibilities" (Scanlan, 1986, p. 48), although economic reasons, work, displacement or dislocation could have contributed to their leaving (Fisher-Thompson, 1980, p. 2). Their grades are higher than males (Lunneborg, Olch & de Wolf, 1974, p. 215, Hilke & Conway-Gerhardt, 1994, p. 13), or traditional-aged students (Wheaton & Robinson, 1983, p. 47). When they drop out, it is by voluntary withdrawals rather than academic dismissal (Tinto, 1993, p. 77).

Female adult learners are more likely than other students to experience interruptions in their studies, but financial aid policies and eligibility requirements for campus services often favor students who follow full-time, fall-to-spring enrollment patterns. As the potential revenues from this group continue to increase "campus administrators may need to examine policies to identify those that hinder students who do not follow traditional enrollment patterns" (Knopp, 1995, p. 10).

In part, the high attrition rate demonstrates the lack of a coordinated effort by "universities to understand the educational needs and wants" of their 25-64 years of age student group (Hu, 1985, p. 201). As institutions are now being held accountable to provide figures on student

retention and graduation, persistence and dropout rates, the implicit assumption is that we are dealing with students success and, in the aggregate, institutional success (Lessne, 1991, p. 141).

"Successful institutions know that ultimately student retention is a by-product of student success and satisfaction" (Noel, Levitz, Saluri and Associates, 1985, p. xiv). The quality of their education experiences will determine whether they stay. All theories and programs addressing student retention, persistence, attrition, and graduation hinge on the students' perceptions that they are getting what they came for, that the school has met or can meet or exceed their expectations, and that in some way the institution has added value to their experiences. The outcome or result desired is a successful and satisfied student, not a "retained" or "re-enrolled" one.

Older Females as Re-entry Learners

Valerie Caracelli reported that re-entry women students account for a majority of the non-traditional, reentry student population. They face different demands and expectations as by their nature, "role transitions pose potential challenges since they disrupt established patterns of behavior and require personal adjustment." Their motivations and expectations focus, in large part, on the career implications of education and how they will balance family and education (1986, pp. 3-4). Sandler, Silverberg & Hall (1996) stated that older women are often singled out or otherwise treated differently in the classroom. Although one of the fastest-growing groups of students, older women are treated differently because some faculty and students still perceive them as bored, middle-aged housewives who have nothing else to do with their lives or who have not received their education in a timely way. Faculty consider part-time study a lack of commitment. Older women are perceived to have a shorter projected career life than younger students. Sometimes faculty members suggest that older women should not be in school but at home with their families (p. 32).

Carol Gilligan theorized that women learn and make moral judgments that are more inherently *contextual*, or related than do males (Pascarella and Terenzini, 1991). According to Johnsrud (1995), "empirical scientists assume a single reality separated from the observer, where feminist scholars assume multiple realities in which the observer is a participant." The dominant styles grounded in ... essentialization, objectification, dominance, control, competition, and individualism, long prevailing and accepted as the standards in academe may follow a pattern of learning more favorable to males than females (p. 73).

Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger & Tarule (1986) found that "older women "[D]id not wish to be told merely that they had the capacity or the potential to become knowledgeable or wise. They needed to know that they already knew something ... that there was something good inside them. (p. 195). Seymour & Hewitt (1994) studied the relationship between learning conditions and performance. They concluded that performance scores are not objective facts, rather that grades are constructed in an interactive process between learners and particular learning contexts that are more or less favorable to them (p. 319). If the interaction between the learner and the learning environment is not positive and beneficial, the learner may conclude that he or she is not able to perform well and may lose confidence, even though the performance was sufficient to proceed.

Females need to be taught differently than males, to be given more time to get involved at the hands-on level. Dr. Lola Rogers, Program Director for Women's Programs, Human Resources Development, National Science Foundation, stated that many women are eliminated in science and engineering programs, not because an innate lack of ability, but because the males who had hands-on learning experiences could adapt more readily to the laboratory atmosphere. Giving the females the same opportunities could increase their self confidence (July 1995, private conversation).

Female Students and Financial Aid

Ross & Hampton (1992) define the situation succinctly: "[T]he part-time nontraditional student is less likely to receive any type of aid than traditional and full-time nontraditional students" (p. 16). Gold stated:

Colleges rarely spend their federal campus-based student aid allotments on part-time students. To correct this, Congress in 1986 mandated that institutions devote at least a 'reasonable proportion' of their campus-based student aid funds to part-time students. However, subsequent federal regulations in effect negated the provision and released schools from having to fulfill this obligation. (p. 59).

Fisher-Thompson found that "it is not a lack of ability that keeps many reentry graduate women from receiving financial aid, it is the *requirement that they be full-time students*" (1980, p. 5) (*Italics are those of the author*).

Model Programs

Involvement, or *student ownership*, is key to student success. Peer, professional and faculty mentoring; tutoring and support groups; newsletters and resource directories; and advisory boards all strategies implemented in the *Women in Engineering Initiative* at the University of Washington

(Brainard, 1992, pp. 23-24). Jones & Watson studied high-risk students, with whom older students share some characteristics, and concluded that the students "themselves must be challenged to develop the academic and nonacademic skills and competencies associated with collegiate 'success'" (1990, p. 67). The student must actively exploit the opportunities present by the environment. More advanced students can assume helping roles with other students (Pascarella and Terenzini, 1991, p. 51, 651).

In response to the research findings of a "chilly climate" for women, some schools are experimenting with female-only courses (Wilson, 1995). The goal is to boost women's self-esteem by giving them the opportunity to participate without the "highly-competitive atmosphere of a normal classroom, where men are part of the equation." If indeed one of the problems is that women do not feel their voices are heard, then it may be appropriate for some women to seek more collaborative than competitive atmospheres in which to learn (pp. 17-18).

Funding and enrollment declines have been perceived as "beyond the control of university administrators and determined primarily by politics and demographics ... relatively little research has focused on what the individual administrator can or should do" (Hardy, 1987, pp. 10-11). My research provides strategies to enhance success for students and their institutions that are not prohibitively expensive or time consuming, nor do they conflict with the school's mission or compromise their standards.

Overview of the Problem

The trends of more women earning bachelors' degrees and entering the professional workforce, and the nation's need for a highly educated labor pool converge to make older female graduate students an important population to understand so that they may optimize their educational experiences. Recent societal changes and economic realities promote older females' returning to school. Barriers to their admission to graduate education are that they are not viewed as serious potential candidates and that their previous coursework may be outdated (Fisher-Thompson, 1980, p. 3). Financial aid and support are significant variables related to lack of persistence. It is important to assess their impact to see what can be changed to affect persistence.

Subjects

In an effort to research the scope of the problem as well as to devise strategies to ameliorate the attrition of women, I conducted a survey of older graduate students from three private schools in

Washington, D.C.¹ The subjects were male and female graduate students from George Washington University, The American University, and Catholic University of America. All were at least 30 years of age (with one exception), had started their programs during or after the Fall 1991 term, and (1) for the persister group, have completed or nearly completed their master's degrees by Fall of 1995, having maintained proper enrollment status at their original or another graduate school; or (2) for the nonpersister group, have withdrawn, failed to enroll continuously or make satisfactory progress in their programs. The controlled background variable was that of age (all are older than 30, with one exception); the academic variable to be controlled was "degree seeking" status, or having filed for degree candidacy, as identified by the institutions. There were no controls for variables as gender, socioeconomic status (SES), ethnicity, parents' education, citizenship, residence, marital status, enrollment status, or hours of employment. This subpopulation includes students who receive or have received financial aid and unaided students. All responses were voluntary. No financial incentive to complete the survey was offered.

Instrumentation

The multiple page questionnaire was drawn from one designed at the University of Illinois, Chicago, by Ernest Pascarella, John Smart, Amaury Nora, Corinna Ethington, John Braxton² and Linda Hagedorn. A viable pool of 470 was established (deleting 254 returned as "undeliverable" and 121 males, as they are peripheral to the study). As 183 questionnaires were answered by the females, the composite response rate was 39 percent. All returns from the females were coded and entered into the computer, using SPSS/PC+. Open-ended responses were recorded by rate of frequency and relationship to hypotheses. On-line responses and a class interview supplemented the survey. A postcard survey of nonrespondents confirmed that the respondents are demographically similar to the older female graduate student subpopulation.

Variables

The dependent variable, "persistence to graduation," is measured by degree completion. The independent variables are: demographic (previous grade point average, socioeconomic status, gender, marital status, residency, citizenship, and age); academic (graduate grade point average, faculty-to-student interaction, and faculty prejudice); internal or psychological (satisfaction with educational experience, stress and time conflicts, self-esteem and confidence); environmental (family income, hours of employment); financial (obtaining information about financial support, and nature and timing of the support); and behavioral—intent to leave.

Results

From a total of 845 surveys sent, a pool of 470 was established, deleting 254 returned as "undeliverable" and 121 males, as they are peripheral to the study, for a response rate of 39 percent. There were 183 usable responses. The results of the analysis of the 153 forced-choice variables were coded and entered into the computer, using SPSS/PC+. Open-ended responses were recorded by rate of frequency and relationship to hypotheses. On-line responses and a class interview supplemented the survey. A post card survey of nonrespondents confirmed the validity of the survey, in that the respondents are not different from the older female graduate student subpopulation by the demographic or background variables. Reliability was assured by analyzing the internal consistency of forced-choice responses, and comparing them to the open-ended responses on the survey, the class interview and the on-line responses. The concerns were similar: financial issues, self-esteem and confidence, "fit" or belonging, and the need to organize in groups. Statistical procedures included chi-square and multiple analyses of variance (manovas). There was no cross-indexing of variables, such as age brackets and satisfaction with campus security.

Persisters and nonpersisters were most alike ($p \leq .10$) in the variables of mothers' level of education, marital status (married), professional and scholarly society membership, self-confidence and esteem, family income (anticipated debt), and working on group projects. They were most dissimilar ($p \leq .001$) in enrollment status, commitment to educational goals, doubting ability to completing program, opportunity to transfer, gaining information about financial aid from a bank, and intent to leave.³

Cost, money constraints, high tuition, and lack of financial aid and support were mentioned more frequently by nonpersisters (by 27 percent) than any other response. One student wrote, "I could not get enough money through grants, scholarships, or work study."

Personal reasons (health of self or others, divorce, life change, or interest change) were attributed to 18 percent of the attrition. One student wrote, "personal problems and overcommitment caused me to leave—single parenthood, hostile former mate, and losing government job." Problems with faculty were mentioned frequently by persisting females. Comments included, "... indifference to the student—most faculty members are uninterested in fostering students' professional growth—there's no mentoring." Problems with administration were mentioned 29 times by persisters. A student wrote, "I think (unfortunately) that graduate students are not *respected* and considered important (essential) for the university—I have been treated quite rudely by *employees*. Students are the *commodities* of a learning institution—the school should take good care of its

students. The worst of all is: the lack of *respect*, appreciation I have received from several of the employees. I would say this treatment has been *violent, aggressive—mistreatment*.” Lack of support for older, female, graduate adult, and/or working students accounted for 22 responses of the persisters. Typical of these was, “not oriented to continuing education/adult working students with families and responsibilities.”

Overview of the Significant Findings

The findings support the theory that there are correlations between persistence-to-graduation variables and those that the institution can address: *advising, mentoring and counseling; enrollment status; societal membership, consulting in the profession and professional certification; self-esteem and confidence; study groups and group projects; and financial aid information and support*. These findings can be addressed by the institution, thus they have policy implications for designers of recruitment and admissions, orientation programs and cohorts, advising and counseling, mentoring, institutional research, and financial support.

Elaine Seymour found decisions “proved never to be the result of a single overwhelming concern; they were always the upshot of a ‘push and pull’ process over time” (p. 53). Decisions were “mediated” by one another (Astin, 1993, p. 315), as when institutional or corporate funding reinforced persistence, even in the presence of ill health or adverse family situations. Variables tend to cluster in support of persistence or dropping out and they have different “weights” in the decision-making process. Three of the most significant variables that mitigated for persistence seemed to be financial support, involvement in the institution or group, and a feeling of belonging.

Implications for Current Theory

The *cohort* system addresses many of the barriers that inhibit the success of older female graduate students. Johnsrud recommends that creating cohorts of students who enter at the same time and progress through coursework together [to] encourage collegiality may be particularly helpful for female students. Study groups are a traditional means by which students band together to help one another, but in some situations, particularly those with a preponderance of part-time students, faculty may need to actively facilitate the formation of such groups ... enhanced advising and mentoring, personal counseling, and peer support groups should be readily available ... writing groups, collaborative writing, and research teams are all concrete means of drawing on women's skills and talents and cultivating the competence and confidence of female graduate students. (1995, p. 77). Cohorts may be especially pertinent for older students and their need “for

acknowledgment and use of their experience, the differing way they go about learning, their desire to be actively involved in the learning process, and their need for affiliation" (Barnett & Caffarella, 1992, p. 2).

Current theory is that "gender-neutral" treatment in and out of the classroom should be sufficient for females to succeed. Indeed, what is perceived to be "gender neutral" is a method of teaching that favors males (individual, combative, and forcing one to come to a singular conclusion), without gender-related examples and jokes. An emphasis on "collaboration and the valuing of individual contributions as they enhance a group's learning and work product," characteristics of both feminist pedagogy and collaborative learning, addresses the discrepancies between "gender-neutral" and learning environments conducive for females (Sandler, Silverberg & Hall, 1996, pp. 38-39). For faculty, the difficulty is "that of redefining something as 'a problem' has long been taken for granted as an appropriate and normal consequence of a pedagogy which serves established, and hitherto unchallenged, student selection objectives" (Seymour & Hewitt, 1994, p. 519).

Persistence Strategies for Graduate Study

Women seem to learn in a more collaborative than competitive atmosphere. Re-entry women lack confidence in their skills and abilities. Hagedorn (1993) concluded that "faculty should not assume that mature students naturally know how to alleviate academic deficiencies ... they should be encouraged to participate in remediation and study groups" (p. 16). Specific strategies are:

1. Enrollment Status.

Full-time enrollment status can enhance the probability of graduation. Prospective students need to be counseled before matriculation that they can boost their opportunity to succeed if they can go to school full-time, and lessen their responsibilities out of school (Astin, 1993, p. 434, Girves and Wemmerus, 1988, p. 186).

2. Student involvement, or ownership.

Active participation is critical to persistence (Brainard, 1992, p. 23). The responsibility for learning rests on the shoulders of the student, not the instructor. Beginning programs of group projects, study groups, and cohorts can lessen the barriers of isolation, competition, and low self-confidence.

One student wrote, "I formed informal study groups and support groups with my peers that helped me to deal with the stress of school and our program advisor. I'd like to see a graduate

student lounge, graduate discussion groups, etc. be developed. These would encourage information sharing and support among student and lessen the isolation and competition that sometimes develops when people can't or don't talk to each other."

The advantages of working together are twofold: they meet affiliation as well as achievement needs. Groups provide networking opportunities that increase the bonds between the students and those with the institution. "Membership in a professional or scholarly society" is another form of involvement. These are opportunities to test the "fit" of the individual to the discipline and its adherents. In the survey conducted for this research, those students involved with the professional licensing procedures of library sciences, social work, nursing, and education had higher persistence rates. The cohort-type groups represented by program in the Tidewater area of Virginia by GWU, and the library science program in Richmond by CUA presented high rates of persistence.

3. Organizing Financial Information and Support Systems.

"Cost, money constraints, high tuition, and lack of financial aid and support" were mentioned more frequently as barriers than any other response on the open-ended question on the survey. Finances, combined with other factors such as family commitments and time conflicts, contributed of 27 percent of the attrition. In this study, those subjects who failed to persist relied on banks for information about financial aid and support and the support itself in the form of loans at a higher rate than did the persisting females. They incurred greater debts. The persisting females were more frequently and substantially funded by their places of employment. Older, part-time reentry students need to be presented with financial aid options, in an impartial, unbiased, inclusive manner. Hauptman recommends "employers should be key actors in expanding assistance for nontraditional students because typically these students also work" (1993, p. 28). To increase the probability of persistence, institution could: 1) advise women of the institution's capabilities; 2) share methods by which other employees have had their graduate education sponsored by their places of employment; and 3) alert women to the negative implications of relying on banks for information and funds.

4. Intrusive counseling.

"A proactive approach in which the advisor takes responsibility for establishing contact with students and addressing their needs before they become problems or barriers to success" (Martinez, 1985, p. 3), can aid older, part-time students who do not know their advisor, may not be on campus when the offices are open, or may be reluctant to seek help. One student wrote, "faculty advisor was a mystery - never in or person had moved on." Another wrote "I felt that I should

have been given more advice by faculty and department." This perception may seem passive, but to older female students conditioned to let others, usually males, take the initiative, waiting for a faculty member or department advisor to offer support is a logical response.

Women's responses relay an expectation of the advisors and faculty beyond the academic realm. A student wrote, "more communication with faculty outside of classroom on 'mentoring type' basis. The faculty was always available for appointments in their offices, but this was for more academic purposes." Another wrote, "I felt uncomfortable, at times, with my advisor because I really did not have any questions and it seemed he did not care to pursue a conversation regarding my academic program." While it is understood that each student is ultimately responsible for his or her success, schools can institute intervention strategies "wherein the institution takes the initiative" (Dolence, 1993, p. 20). An example is by monitoring grade point averages to spot declining performance.

5. Planning Faculty Training.

Of the persisters, 47 percent responded affirmatively to "department faculty treat female graduate students comparably to male graduate student." Of the nonpersisters, 30 percent agreed, a 17 percent difference. If indeed the interactions within the department are more influential than institution-wide ones (Pascarella and Terenzini, 1991, p. 652, Tinto, 1993, p. 231), then faculty need to be sensitized to the unique needs, perceptions, and patterns of learning and interaction of older female graduate students.

Recommendations from Fisher-Thompson include assigning a specific academic counselor to work with reentry graduate women, providing each reentry woman with a mentor, setting up workshops to train faculty how to be mentors, assigning peer advisors, and planning orientation programs for the women and their families (1980, p. 8). Additionally, she recommends monitoring department activities for gender equity: sharing authorships and other research opportunities, internships, and job openings (pp. 7-8).

6. Conducting Mentoring Training for Faculty and Advisors.

Mentoring is mentioned very specifically in the survey to which the student responded: "I've had little opportunity to develop a mentoring relationship with a faculty." Of the persisting females, 35 percent agreed. Of the nonpersisters, 55 percent agreed, a 20 percent difference. Of the non-persisting females, one wrote that advisors, or potential mentors, were assigned "without regard to student/professional interests and compatibility." "Career guidance and job seeking support"

were mentioned by the persisting females as something they looked for but found lacking in their relationships with faculty, mentors, and advisors.

Mentoring is important because it is job training, creating knowledge, and socializing graduate students to the discipline and the academy. Fisher-Thompson recommends setting up workshops to train faculty how to be mentors; assigning reentry women with academic counselors and advisors; and planning orientation programs for the women and their families, as well as monitoring department activities for gender equity (1980, p.8).

Conclusion

Johnsrud concludes "[W]e must eliminate the barriers that confront women in graduate school. As a nation, we simply cannot afford to sacrifice women's talent and potential ... what is needed is leadership from individual faculty and administrators to foster the reflection, insight, and determination necessary to identify those barriers and make significant changes" (1995, p. 77). We have the strategies to ensure equity of opportunity for older female graduate students. We cannot accept attrition of this subpopulation as natural or normal.

It is true that quality is free. The factors that influence persistence are those that are time consuming and attitude changing: faculty initiation of advising and mentoring, institutional advising about financial issues, staff treatment of students with respect and courtesy, and an increase of the involvement or ownership by students so that the institution and the students succeed.

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

VARIABLE	PROBABILITY	RELIABILITY
I. BACKGROUND		
Enrollment Status	.00000	.001
Mother's Level of Education	.09763	.10
Commitment of Educational Goals	.001	.001
Marital Status (married)	.07847	.10
II. ACADEMIC		
Graduate Education Performance (Graduate Grade Point Average)	.03806	.05
Prof./Sch. Soc. Mmbrshp.	.087*	.10
Consulting in the Profession	.026*	.05
Obtained Prof. Certification	.050*	.05
Met in Study Groups	.021	.05
III. PSYCHOLOGICAL		
Stress and Time Conflicts	.023	.05
Doubt Ability to Complete Program	.0000	.001
Self-esteem and Confidence	.094*	.10
IV. ENVIRONMENTAL		
Hours of Employment	.020	.05
Opportunity to Transfer	.000	.001
Marriage and Family Responsibilities	.059	.10
Family Income (Anticipated Debt)	.0950	.10
Group Projects	.063*	.10
V. FINANCIAL		
Info. Financial Aid/Family	.01943	.05
Info. Financial Aid/Bank	.0003	.001
Lack of Financial Support	.039	.05
Source Financial Support/Bank ("Does Not Apply" Response)	.04626	.05
VI. BEHAVIORAL		
Intent to Leave	.000	.001
* - Univariate only		

Bolded variables: most alike for the two groups and institutionally addressable

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ENDNOTES

1. Instrument available by request. Contact author at nancycit@aol.com.
2. Private correspondence from Dr. Linda S. Hagedorn, January 18, 1995.
3. Detailed "Table of Variables" is "appendix."

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Using Senior Exit Examinations to Inform Curriculum Change in an Academic Department

Michael Kidda and Anthony Golden



Ability testing has, in large part, enabled democratic processes, particularly during periods of workforce shortages, and has served to provide opportunities for minority groups by documenting the abilities of minority group members to perform tasks for which they had previously been judged unfit. Since its founding in 1867 under the auspices of the Committee on Freedmen, Johnson C. Smith University has sought to provide educational opportunities to an ethnically and geographically diverse student body. Within this context the psychology department strives to provide a curriculum that will make its graduates competitive in graduate study as well as for immediate employment.

The Area Concentration Achievement Tests (ACAT) were originally developed at Austin Peay State University in 1983 to address the Tennessee Higher Education Commission's mandate for outcomes assessment at the level of the baccalaureate major. The psychology ACAT can contain anywhere from 4 to 10 content area subtests at the request of the department that uses it. In this manner, the content of the test can be both nationally normed and closely fitted to an individual department's curriculum. The ACATs are revised every 2 to 4 years and all items are examined for appropriate psychometric sensitivity, currency with respect to the field, and inappropriate sensitivity to either race or gender. New items may be submitted at any time by participating departments whose faculty are encouraged to read and comment on the test contents.

Departments receive detailed information concerning their student's individual test performance as well as the overall performance for their senior cohort. The amount of detail provided is

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intended to permit departments to evaluate their students' performance against the national sample and to make more detailed examinations of individual achievement with respect to courses undertaken, grades earned, and post-graduate outcomes.

The department has used the ACAT as a Senior Exit Examination since 1989 to assess its success in preparing students in the discipline. The curriculum concentrates on psychology as a scientific discipline and emphasizes preparation in research and analysis of data. There are five courses required of every major: (a) General Psychology I, an overview of the field and prerequisite to all other courses, (b) General Psychology II, an overview of research methods in psychology, (c) Statistics for the Social and Behavioral Sciences, corequisite to Experimental Psychology I, (d) Experimental Psychology I, concentrating on basic experimental methods, and (e) Senior Seminar, resulting in the production of an investigative paper that is required for graduation. Majors must also complete at least two of the following ("cafeteria") courses: Experimental Designs (statistics 2), Psychology of Learning, Psychology of Perception, Personality Theory, Principles of Psychological Measurement, and Theoretical Psychology (history and systems). Four additional courses are elective and may be in any of the following areas in psychology: exceptional, childhood, adolescence, educational, experimental 2, consumer behavior, industrial/organizational, social, abnormal, clinical, independent research, and internship. All required courses are offered at least once each year, some each semester. The frequency of other course offerings depends on demand, with at least two "cafeteria" requirements offered each semester. As versions of the ACAT have been offered that are a better fit for our curriculum we have changed versions of the test but we have tested the following five areas since 1989: (a) Experimental Design, (b) History and Systems, (c) Human Learning, (d) Personality, and (e) Statistics.

Since June 1996 with funding from the United Negro College Fund I have endeavored to analyze the relationship among performance in individual psychology courses and achievement outcomes measured by ACAT scores in psychology. The five area subtests listed above were chosen because they were common to the two versions of the ACAT we had used and because each area was taught in either a required course in a "cafeteria" requirement, the courses most frequently taken by our majors. Standard scores of the relevant subtests were used as outcome measures because they are interval scales (each unit represents an equal increment in knowledge of the area covered by the subtest), because they represent independent assessments of performance that does not rely on comparison with other scores for meaningful interpretation (the way percentile scores do), and because they offer a standard of comparison across a range of years. The initial plan was to use path analysis to develop causal models of course effects on ACAT subtest standard scores. It was not useful for a variety of reasons, including the lack of tight control over the sequence in

which courses are taken in a small department and the irregularity of scheduling for some courses. I have developed an alternative strategy that I call relationship mapping that makes use of correlation coefficients. Our intent is that those who participated in the workshop and those who read these proceedings will be able to apply this technique to their own data. Our purpose is not to teach computation of statistics but to teach a procedure for interpreting data using the results of common statistical computations. Nearly all statistics programs and most spreadsheets have the ability to compute correlations and it is assumed that you are able to compute the necessary correlations yourself or that there is some one at your institution who will compute them for you. Each step in constructing a relationship map will be explained and illustrated using data collected by the psychology department at Johnson C. Smith University.

For those who are not statistically literate a brief explanation of key concepts is offered. A variable is anything whose value is not constant. We will be dealing with two key variables: grades in psychology courses and standard scores on ACAT subtests in psychology. A case is a vector (linear array) of the value of each variable for a single individual. In setting up our data we entered each student's standard score on each subtest of the ACAT and a value representing her or his grade in each course in the psychology curriculum in a single row. Each row represents a separate case. Grades should be coded as A=4, B=3, C=2, D=1, F=0, and course not taken=0. Not taking a course or earning an F represents no increase in knowledge for that course. We are interested in whether students' knowledge gains in a particular course are related to knowledge of a particular area measured by the ACAT. When all data is entered the result is a case (rows) by variable (columns) rectangular array of numerical values.

Correlation is a statistical procedure for determining the magnitude or strength and direction of association between two variables. It is represented by a decimal fraction between 1.00 and -1.00. Larger absolute values represent stronger associations and the positive or negative sign tells the direction of association. A positive correlation means that as the value of one variable increases, the value of the associated variable increases. In our data we have a positive correlation between grades in the perception course and scores on the ACAT statistics subtest—students who earned higher grades in perception scored higher on the ACAT statistics subtest. A negative correlation means that as the value of one variable increases the value of the associated variable decreases. In our data we have a negative correlation between grades in the perception course and grades in the senior seminar—students who earned higher grades in perception earned lower grades in senior seminar or vice-versa. A correlation coefficient must have a certain magnitude in order to be statistically significant, that is, for it to be reasonably assumed that the association is not the result of chance or error. Statistical tables are available for determining the level of statistical sig-

nificance for correlation coefficients of a given magnitude computed using a given number of cases, but a good rule of thumb for our purposes is to consider correlations with magnitudes greater than 0.25 (absolute value) to be significant when the number of cases is fifty or more. Nonsignificant correlations (less than 0.25) indicate no meaningful association between a pair of variables. It is important to keep in mind that correlation does not infer causation. It simply tells whether changes in the value of one variable are associated with changes in the value of another variable. The procedure described here is useful for describing the relationships that exist among courses in a curriculum and also between courses and outcome measures but it in no way indicates that any course causes or fails to cause performance on the outcome measure. After data were entered as described above, correlations were computed between standard scores on each ACAT subtest and grades in each course in the psychology curriculum, resulting in a matrix similar to Figure 1.

Figure 1:
Pearson Correlation Matrix for ACAT Content Area Standard Scores by Psychology Courses

	ACAT Experimental Design	ACAT History & Systems	ACAT Human Learning	ACAT Personality	ACAT Statistics
General 1	0.026	0.047	-0.162	-0.101	0.063
General 2	0.377	0.167	0.072	0.300	0.144
Exceptional	0.064	-0.080	0.030	-0.033	0.101
Statistics 1	0.375	0.088	0.170	0.254	0.189
Statistics 2	0.131	0.118	0.082	0.143	0.158
Child	-0.030	-0.167	0.110	0.242	0.019
Adolescent	0.104	-0.003	0.258	0.195	0.120
Educational	-0.125	0.064	0.028	-0.076	0.001
Learning	0.069	-0.080	-0.145	-0.062	-0.074
Perception	0.043	0.019	0.158	-0.024	0.353
Experiment 1	0.269	-0.001	0.103	0.068	0.207
Experiment 2	0.217	0.271	0.011	0.251	0.131
Consumer	-0.077	-0.101	-0.109	-0.095	-0.040
Ind-Org	0.267	0.129	0.029	0.002	0.088
Personality	-0.084	0.031	-0.031	0.127	0.010
Measurement	0.102	-0.010	0.107	0.075	-0.047
Sr Seminar	0.226	0.145	-0.060	0.166	-0.005
Social	0.326	0.215	0.045	0.087	0.178
Abnormal	0.176	0.073	0.068	0.190	0.188
Clinical	0.052	-0.013	-0.079	0.236	-0.085
Theoretical	0.160	-0.023	0.042	0.105	-0.015
Ind rsch	-0.096	-0.078	-0.202	-0.081	-0.016
Internship	-0.022	-0.102	-0.188	-0.193	-0.133

Number of observations: 78

The significant correlations were marked (boldface) as well as the variables involved in significant correlations. Student grades in boldfaced courses are directly associated with ACAT scores.

Because all the significant correlations are positive and because students have taken the courses prior to being tested, we can logically expect that increases in grades in boldfaced courses predict increases in a particular ACAT subtest score. Although we cannot say that grade increases in these courses causes performance increases in associated ACAT subtests, we do know that these courses are key to ACAT outcomes. If we are considering curriculum changes to improve ACAT scores, it makes sense to target these courses and associated courses for possible changes. The next step is to identify courses that are significantly associated with the courses we have just identified.

We computed a second level of correlations, courses that are associated with the courses already identified as directly associated with ACAT subtest scores. The series of five matrixes in Figure 2 contain the resulting correlation coefficients. As in Figure 1 we have marked the significant correlations and associated courses with boldface. This matrix represents a second level of associations—courses that are indirectly associated with ACAT scores by virtue of their correlation with courses that are directly associated with ACAT scores.

Figure 2: Pearson Correlation Matrix for Psychology Courses

	General 1	General 2	Exceptional	Statistics 1	Statistics 2
General 1	1.000				
General 2	0.049	1.000			
Exceptional	0.063	0.088	1.000		
Statistics 1	0.086	0.563	0.014	1.000	
Statistics 2	0.105	0.313	-0.018	0.419	1.000
Child	-0.064	-0.050	0.142	-0.107	-0.025
Adolescent	-0.271	-0.030	0.010	0.247	0.033
Educational	-0.062	-0.184	0.005	0.114	-0.028
Learning	0.161	-0.105	-0.030	0.085	-0.085
Perception	-0.046	0.007	-0.126	-0.092	-0.023
Experiment 1	0.140	0.400	0.134	0.374	0.181
Experiment 2	-0.057	0.380	0.155	0.337	0.221
Consumer	0.029	0.082	0.157	-0.023	-0.160
Ind-Org	-0.026	0.224	-0.130	0.288	0.171
Personality	-0.100	0.095	0.055	0.057	-0.146
Measurement	-0.038	0.201	-0.135	0.182	0.127
Sr Seminar	0.064	0.220	-0.018	0.114	0.159
Social	0.125	0.319	-0.090	0.281	0.115
Abnormal	0.031	-0.053	0.243	0.045	-0.170
Clinical	0.147	0.098	0.127	0.072	0.126
Theoretical	-0.035	0.285	0.100	0.133	-0.158
Ind Rsch	0.132	0.271	0.138	0.022	0.098
Internship	-0.027	0.059	-0.207	-0.058	0.017

(continued next page)

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	Child	Adolescent	Educational	Learning	Perception
Child	1.000				
Adolescent	0.180	1.000			
Educational	0.035	0.289	1.000		
Learning	-0.141	0.003	0.135	1.000	
Perception	0.038	0.197	0.024	-0.262	1.000
Experiment 1	0.052	0.023	-0.024	0.091	0.174
Experiment 2	0.028	-0.021	-0.098	-0.078	-0.134
Consumer	-0.041	0.075	-0.035	0.056	0.107
Ind-Org	0.019	0.218	-0.160	0.145	-0.087
Personality	0.135	0.039	-0.004	-0.136	0.167
Measurement	0.027	0.041	0.037	0.120	-0.247
Sr Seminar	-0.016	-0.296	-0.243	0.037	-0.259
Social	0.029	-0.083	0.018	0.172	0.173
Abnormal	0.158	0.053	-0.073	-0.126	0.091
Clinical	0.154	-0.086	-0.138	-0.010	-0.203
Theoretical	0.043	-0.146	-0.144	0.022	-0.143
Ind Rsch	0.007	-0.010	-0.101	-0.026	0.008
Internship	-0.095	-0.078	-0.182	0.091	-0.134

	Experiment 1	Experiment 2	Consumer	Ind-Org	Personality
Experiment 1	1.000				
Experiment 2	0.156	1.000			
Consumer	0.124	0.043	1.000		
Ind-Org	0.172	0.213	-0.130	1.000	
Personality	0.111	-0.318	-0.012	0.014	1.000
Measurement	0.038	-0.038	-0.153	0.216	-0.183
Sr Seminar	-0.048	0.181	-0.256	0.205	0.108
Social	0.186	0.014	-0.216	0.344	0.007
Abnormal	0.086	0.121	-0.086	-0.138	0.106
Clinical	0.123	0.025	-0.142	0.008	0.171
Theoretical	0.099	0.204	0.140	0.029	-0.133
Ind rsch	0.208	0.039	0.237	-0.118	0.097
Internship	0.028	-0.050	-0.023	0.002	-0.084

	Measurement	Sr Seminar	Social	Abnormal	Clinical
Measurement	1.000				
Sr Seminar	0.079	1.000			
Social	0.201	0.065	1.000		
Abnormal	-0.011	-0.121	-0.131	1.000	
Clinical	0.194	0.113	0.073	0.048	1.000
Theoretical	-0.076	0.077	0.054	0.008	-0.075
Ind Rsch	0.088	-0.080	-0.055	-0.004	0.192
Internship	0.209	0.039	-0.189	-0.175	0.161

	Theoretical	Ind Rsch	Internship
Theoretical	1.000		
Ind Rsch	0.093	1.000	
Internship	0.001	0.271	1.000

Number of observations: 78

Using the information from the two correlation matrixes, we then summarized the first level and second level associations of psychology course grades with ACAT subtest scores in outline form as shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Outline Summary of Psychology Courses Associated with ACAT Subtest Scores

- I. ACAT Experimental Design
 - A. General 2
 - 1. Statistics 1
 - 2. Experiment 1
 - 3. Experiment 2
 - 4. Social
 - 5. Statistics 2
 - 6. Theoretical
 - 7. Independent Research
 - B. Statistics 1
 - 1. Statistics 2
 - 2. Experiment 1
 - 3. Experiment 2
 - 4. Industrial-Organizational
 - 5. Social
 - C. Social
 - 1. Industrial-Organizational
 - D. Experiment 1
 - E. Industrial-Organizational
- II. ACAT History & Systems
 - A. Experiment 2
 - 1. General 2
 - 2. Statistics 1
 - 3. Personality (-)
- III. ACAT Human Learning
 - A. Adolescent
 - 1. Educational
 - 2. Senior Seminar (-)
- IV. ACAT Personality
 - A. General 2
 - 1. Statistics 1
 - 2. Experiment 1
 - 3. Experiment 2
 - 4. Social
 - 5. Statistics 2
 - 6. Theoretical
 - 7. Independent Research
 - B. Statistics 1
 - 1. Statistics 2
 - 2. Experiment 1
 - 3. Experiment 2
 - 4. Industrial-Organizational
 - 5. Social
 - C. Experiment 2
 - 1. General 2
 - 2. Statistics 1
 - 3. Personality (-)
- V. ACAT Statistics
 - A. Perception
 - 1. Senior Seminar (-)

ACAT content areas, measured by subtests, are first order headings in the outline (Roman numeral). Courses directly associated with ACAT content areas, first level associations, are second order headings (capital letter). Courses indirectly associated with ACAT content areas, second level associations, are third order headings (numbers). Courses negatively correlated to higher order headings are marked with a negative sign (-). The order of courses within second and third order headings is determined by magnitude of correlation with its higher order heading.

The outline summary is a format that is easily translated into the readily interpreted relationship map in Figure 4. An ellipse surrounds each ACAT content area and a box surrounds each course in the map. Associations are designated by trajectory lines, with the arrowhead pointing the direction of probable influence. Trajectory lines always point toward ACAT content areas because psychology majors take the ACAT during the Spring semester of their senior year. When one course must precede another, for example, Statistics 1 must be completed before Statistics 2, the trajectory points toward the second course in the sequence. A double pointed trajectory connects associated courses which are not sequenced. Courses in shaded boxes are correlated with one another without regard to sequence. Drawing the trajectories for these associations would be too complex and would only clutter the map. Variables are arranged in columns. Outcomes (ACAT content areas) are in the far right column, level one associations (directly related course) are in the adjacent column, level two associations (indirectly related courses) are in the third column from the right, and we have used the leftmost column for negatively correlated courses in order to draw attention to negative associations.

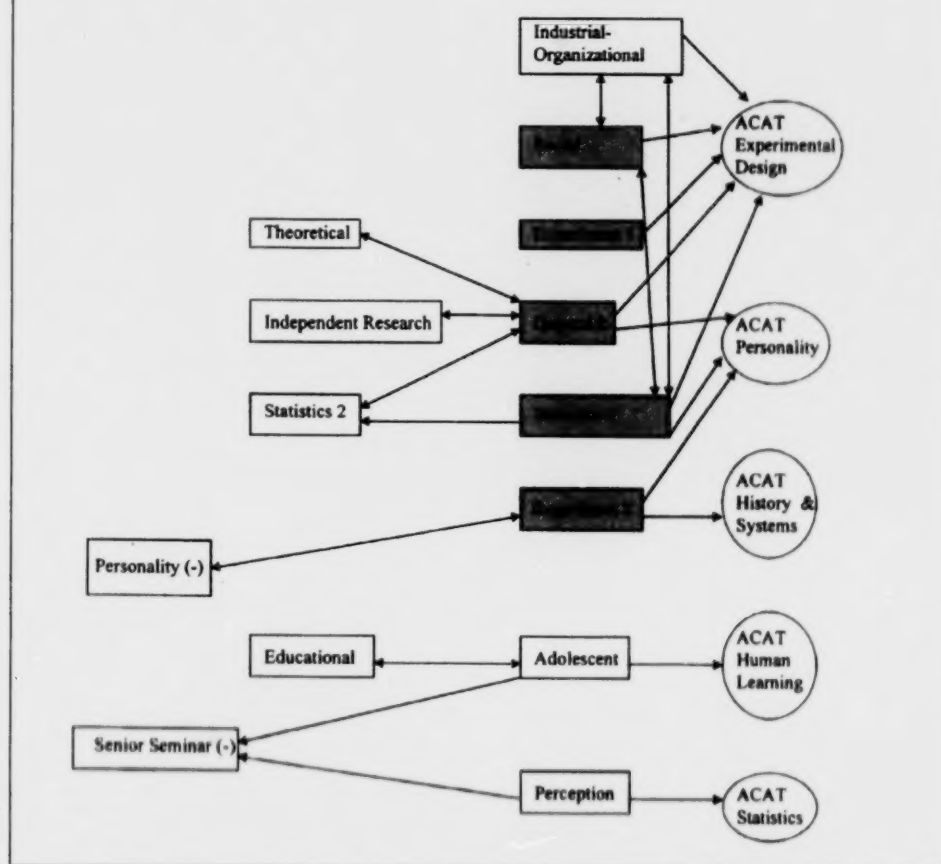
From the relationship map we form a picture of the complex relationships that exist among the courses in our curriculum and how they, in turn, are related to outcomes as measured by scores on ACAT subtests. Certainly one area of concern is the negative relationships that exist between Personality and the Senior Seminar with first level courses. Remember that we cannot infer from correlation that better grades in one course are causing poorer grades in another course. There may be a third variable, such as a time conflict, that is causing the negative relationship. One clue may be that while grades in Experiment 2 are positively associated with scores on the ACAT Personality subtest, Experiment 2 is negatively associated with the Personality course. Another concern is that only two ACAT content areas, Experimental Design and Personality, have a network of associated courses, yet three are correlated with grades in a single course for each area and the course content does not appear to be related to the ACAT area. We want to identify what associated courses and the ACAT content areas have in common so that we might be able to identify and improve factors in our department that cause both to vary together and the relationship map indicates where it will be most productive to begin curriculum study and revision.

William Blake wrote, "Education is the lighting of a fire rather than the filling of a pail."

It is important to keep in mind that we are not studying a curriculum to discover what and how much the pail needs to contain or how to teach to the test. Our task is to design a curriculum that will spark students interest in the content of our discipline and then to feed the fire so it doesn't die. Our business is to educate, a word borrowed from Latin that means "to bring forth."

No new or very sophisticated statistical procedures were used to construct this relationship map. Any academic department should have access to resources that will produce the correlation matrixes necessary for constructing similar maps. Relationship maps will not tell you what changes will cause increases in ACAT scores or any other outcome measure. They should be useful in describing relationships among the courses in your curricula and between courses and outcome measures. They will help you discover where to begin but your reasoning and decision making ability will continue to be the key to good education.

Figure 4: Relationship Map of Psychology Courses to ACAT Area Scores



Suggested Readings

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The Majority of the Minority: A Survey of Attitudes and Perceptions That African Americans Have About Mathematics

Patricia W. Beaulieu and Roslin Growe



Introduction

Not to know is bad; not to wish to know is worse.

Inspired by a Nigerian proverb

June 7, 1997 - Washington (AP), the headline reads:

"UNEMPLOYMENT AT 24-YEAR LOW"

The nation's unemployment rate dropped to 4.8 percent in May. "Anyone who wants to work pretty much can, given a modicum level of skills and training," said Mark Zandi of Regional Financial Associates in West Chester, PA. Employers are increasingly having a difficult time finding unemployed people who want to work."

Stopping here, this page one business news seems to advance the point that ... in the corporate world, competition, time and technology have become equalizers ... there really is a place for everyone in every place. The article continues:

That's not to say that everyone has benefited equally. The May rate was 3.8 percent for adult men and 4.5 percent for adult women. But for teens it is 15.6 percent and for black teens 33.2 percent. For all blacks the rate was 10.3 percent, for Hispanics, 7.4 percent, and for whites 4 percent.

The 'rest of the story' reveals yet again a bleak picture of African Americans' occupational involvement. In 1994, African Americans made up 12 percent of the U.S. population and were 11 percent

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of the workforce. They are projected to be 11 percent of the labor force for 2005 (Occupational Outlook Handbook, 1996-97). The unemployment rate for African American high school graduates is generally three times the rate for whites (American Council on Education, 1988).

Demographics and Tomorrow's Jobs

Looking at the year 2000 and beyond, we can project that the total U.S. population will continue to increase 267.7 million in 2000 (up 7.1 percent) and to 282.0 million in 2010 (up only 5.3 percent). However, our nation's youth population (0-18) will go up 64 million in 1990 to 65.7 million in 2000; it will then decline to 62.6 million in 2010. The decline will be in European American childbearing in particular, as illustrated in the following table (Hodgkinson, 1993):

	1990	2010	Net
European-American youth	45.1 million	41.4 million	-3.7 million
Hispanic-American youth	7.2 million	9.8 million	+2.6 million
African-American youth	10.2 million	11.4 million	+1.2 million
Other youth	2.2 million	2.8 million	+ .6 million
Non European-American net:	up 4.4 million		
European-American net:	down 3.7 million		

"Other" is mainly African American and Native American. Calculated from census data and projections.

By 2010, the following twelve states plus the District of Columbia will have about half of the nation's 62.6 million young people. The figures below indicate percentages of youth who are not European American in each state (Hodgkinson, 1993).

District of Columbia	93.2%
Hawaii	79.5
New Mexico	76.5
Texas	56.9
California	56.9
Florida	53.4
New York	52.8
Louisiana	50.3
Mississippi	49.9
New Jersey	45.7
Maryland	42.7
Illinois	41.7
South Carolina	40.1
United States (average)	38.2

This data begs the question: Can a group be called a minority when it represents more than 50 percent of the population?

By 2010, New York, California, Texas and Florida will contain 21 million of the nation's 62.6 million youth, that is one-third of all youth, ages 0 to 18 in the United States. As this majority of young people who are not European American moves through the age ranges, they in turn become a majority of entry-level workers in these four key states. The question arises, not about who the entry-level workers will be in the year 2000, but about the work to be done in the year 2000. Some analysts insist in a high tech age, most jobs will require a college degree. Parnell in 1985 identified the 'neglected majority', the 75 percent of students in public schools who are unlikely to obtain a baccalaureate degree. An excellent study called *America's Choice: High Skills or Low Wages*, theorizes that in the year 2000, 70 percent of U.S. jobs will not require a baccalaureate degree.

A Conceptual Framework

Research has shown that there is a definite connection between economic development and a trained workforce. New industry moves into areas that have the most educated workforce the jobs of today and tomorrow demand (Governors' Commission on Workforce Preparedness, 1990). Competence in mathematics and science is viewed as a sure route to career opportunities in computer science, engineering, environmental sciences, architecture, accounting, and other technological skills. An impeding reality is that we must have an increasing number of minorities in the workforce, but the majority of minorities is technologically incompetent (Griffin, 1990). Many studies have documented the fact that relatively few African American, Hispanic, and American Indian students take advanced high school courses in mathematics and science. The rationale becomes clear as to why small percentages of students in these groups majored in mathematics, science and related academic disciplines while in college. Mathematics is an important prerequisite for increasing one's participation in the natural and technical sciences. Students who do not acquire a sufficient background in mathematics are eliminated from a gamut of careers.

Beverly J. Anderson succinctly notes: "Mathematics is an enabling force." It offers unlimited access into careers in a technologically powerful society. However, the mathematics performance of students in our schools (McKnight, et al, 1987) is cause for concern. African Americans, particularly, are out of the mathematical pipeline.

An extensive set of studies documents the roles of several factors contributing to the dynamics of students' performance in mathematics, including ... achievement, personal interests, career interests and aspirations, perceived utility of mathematics to careers, ... high school curriculum, family support, etc. Significant factors as occupational/career choice and college major involving minority students displaying above-average academic preparation in the core courses were often omitted.

In the spirit of a Guinean proverb—*Knowledge is like a garden: if it is not cultivated, it cannot be harvested*—our goal is to add to the body of research by filling in some of the missing links in existing studies.

The Survey

A survey was conducted to examine some of the attitudes and perceptions that African-American undergraduates have about mathematics. This presentation reports the results and possible consequences of these results. The population in this study consisted of:

- 118 black undergraduates enrolled at a historically black institution in the south. This group was selected at random.
- 113 students, ages 17-24, who were beginning freshman.
- 66 students who were male and 52 students who were female.
- 117 residents of the 50 United States and 1 resident of the Grand Bahamas.

In 1984, Matthews, reviewed 24 research studies organized according to three variables that influence the learning and participation of minority students in mathematics. These variables are: parent, student and school. The researcher—constructed questionnaire used in this survey was designed to reflect these variables. In addition to sex, age and race, variables including parent education and occupation, students expectations, aspirations, and attitudes toward mathematics, students' perceived utility of mathematics, and the role of teachers were all incorporated into the polling instrument. To help the researchers develop theories of occupational choice, factors behind the career choices of these students were investigated. They were evidenced in part, by the decision to continue, whether majoring in mathematics-dependent disciplines or taking math courses as electives. Of particular interest is that the sample group consists of students who had strong general academic preparation in mathematics and science as evidenced by their grade point average, ACT scores, advanced math courses taken in high school.

Implications of What the Data Tells Us

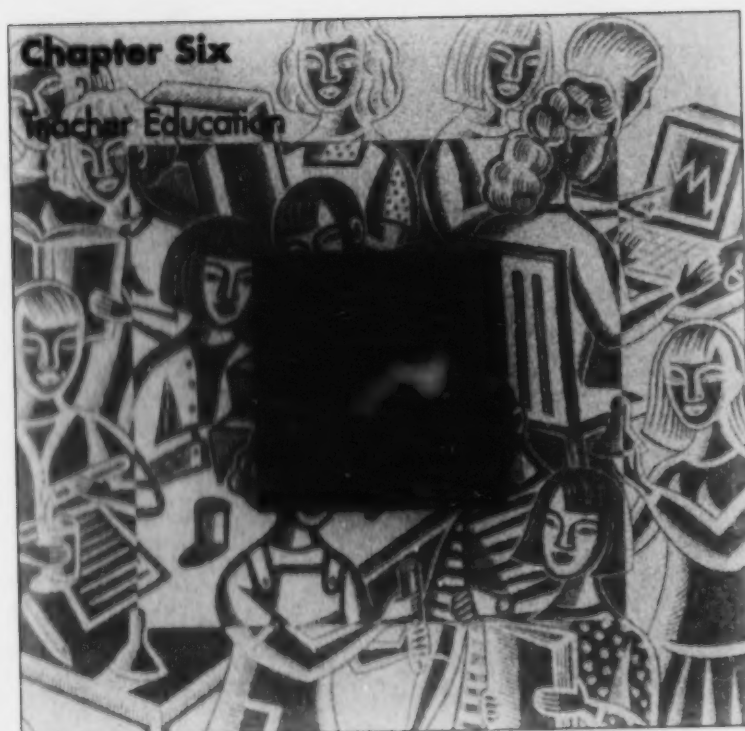
Although the sample size of 118 students is small, the information obtained speaks volumes of what works in increasing the percentage of African Americans in scientific careers which involve a broad background in mathematics.

What works:

- The number of advanced math courses taken in high school is a good predictor of the choice of a mathematics or science major in college.
- Parents influence their children's career choices.
- Students who see the connection between mathematics and the resolution of serious social problems African Americans face are willing to choose these technical careers.
- Vocational choices made are equivalent to that of students' role models.
- High school guidance counselors impact the degree to which students take math and science courses.
- Students strong self-perception in terms of their ability to do math results in a willingness to take these courses.
- Students who have been provided occupational information on careers opportunities in math are willing to consider these as personal choices.
- High self-esteem translates into belief students can achieve and do well in mathematics.
- Teacher expectations—the effectiveness of the teacher in motivation and involving students in the learning process impact the quality of the academic experience.
- School influences affect student achievement and perceptions about mathematics.

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Progressive Education and Feminist Pedagogy: Issues in Gender, Power and Authority

Frances A. Maher



Introduction

I would like to start with a story which addresses a basic question: whether feminist pedagogy is, at bottom, simply another version of progressive pedagogies—or, as many have asked me, “Isn’t this just good teaching?” I want to ask this question of “good teaching” and gender specifically in relation to two issues: the treatment of girls in classrooms and the role of the teacher, and the teacher’s authority, in progressive and feminist pedagogical theory. This is an excerpt from the dissertation of a colleague, Carla Rensenbrink, who studied three self-described feminist elementary school teachers, a project I will be quoting from at greater length below. In her portrait of one second-grade class, she included the following story, written by several girls and then read aloud to their classmates. Here is the story as the girls read it, and the others’ reactions:

The Nightcrawler by Dolores and Rosie.

it was a Rainy night.
the nightcrawler Was sleeping and.
he woke up,
he hraed a skreme. (sic)
He ran over. all the way to the 4th floor but it was to lat
the Killr jumped out the window.
Chap. 2 got to find out who that was
He looked everywere but he cudent fined the killr
and then he fined a warehouse and went in he saw
Guns and pistols and.
he saw him he was smelling he was the human fly he.
siad a fight to the finish. they fought and fought and
fought. and the human fly fataied away, and
after that we never saw the human fly again.

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The following discussion ensued:

Karl: It's different from the Barbie (books) you usually write.

Tom: Girls don't usually write about guns and violence.

Reggie: (half to himself): Boys are violent. Why do you always make books together?

Neil: What's wrong with that?

Newman: Did you think of the idea together?

Karl: I like the title.

Harold: I like to see a change. I'd like to see boys writing different kinds of books.

Brianna: What made you think of it?

Rosie and Dolores: (together, finishing each other's sentences): We worked on it a long time. We wanted to do something different. We wanted to make a book that had action in it.

Ned: What are his powers?

Rosie and Dolores: He can jump rope through a third story window. He can make a sword come out of his hand.

Vic: I like the book. At first I thought it was copied, but it wasn't. I like how you found a book you could agree on together.

Newman: Was it like *phasing*? (?)

Rosie and Dolores: What's that? (Several boys chime in to explain a word they all seem to know.)

Boy: Can he *teleport*?

Rosie: What is that? (Again, several attempts by the boys to explain. Rosie: He goes through walls and comes back to life.

Larry: You just don't get it, Rosie. (Rensenbrink, 1995, 81-83; hereafter, "R.")

These rebuffs of two girls' attempt to write stories the way boys would, stories in which "action" is a euphemism for violence and girls' activities must somehow take supernatural forms to be valid, exemplify a quandary for women's education. The image of using a jump rope to reach a third story window suggests the paradox, even the impossibility, of locating females within the learning trajectory of western educational thought. But does the inclusiveness and student-centered nature of progressive education, laid out by Dewey in a number of works, exemplified in many educational settings, and sworn to by successive generations of teachers, solve this paradox? Or does it provide another universalizing narrative, another "regime of truth," whose prac-

tices silence some students in the name of including everyone under the universal rhetoric of "the child"?

On one level this story may be read very positively as girls and boys exploring their imaginations together. The teacher is a facilitator, out of the way, doesn't even need to be present. The kids are teaching each other. If progressive educational theories and the practices based on them, even if they don't explicitly address gender (or race, class and culture), are benign or neutral when dealing with the diversities represented by girls and boys from different backgrounds, then it doesn't matter what Dewey thought of these matters 75 years ago.

However, blind spots in the theoretical assumptions themselves may translate to classroom practices of inequality. This story could also be read as a lesson in power. "Jumping rope" is deployed not to weave girls' friendships on the ground but to "leap tall buildings with a single bound," the boy who wishes boys wrote other kinds of stories is ignored, and the girls are treated to a mixture of condescension and exclusion—you can't write such stories if you don't know what "teleporting" is, and girls shouldn't try to write such stories anyway.

Progressive Educational Theory: Inclusiveness and Power

With this story in mind, I want first to suggest some specific problems with the application of the child-centered strand of progressive education to gender issues, problems which I think can be applied to other forms of inequality as well. For Dewey, and many of his followers, a key issue was unity: the unity of the home and the school, the unity of the child's experiences with the academic disciplines, and the unity of the heart and mind in the service of educating the whole child for the good of the whole community.

As Jane Roland Martin has recently pointed out, however, the direction of this effort was to create "the citizen, the worker, the individual," not the family member, the parent, the keeper of the home—those activities traditionally associated with women. (Martin, 1994, 231.) Many assert that we should include these issues in our curriculum and our classroom practice, explicitly adding Martin's "Three C's" of care, concern and connection to the progressive agenda. After all, Dewey himself wanted to bring activities once located in the home to the school setting, because the Industrial Revolution had destroyed the home as a setting of productive work. (See Martin, 235.) Dewey argued eloquently for beginning with the experience of the whole child, noting that "not truth, but affection and sympathy is the keynote of his world." (Dewey, in Dworkin, ed., 1959, 92.)

However, as the work of Martin herself and many other researchers have shown, such an "add women and stir" approach is not enough. One problem, noted above and cited also in feminists' dealings with Paulo Freire's critical pedagogies, is that "the child," or "the oppressed," is not a singular or a universal. Not only are children different, but their differences represent and replicate societal power arrangements in the classroom. Thus the "oppressed" (as a male worker or as a white woman) will also be an oppressor (of females, of people of color.) (See Maher, 1987, Weiler, 1991.) To simply encourage the expression of everyone's experiences, or voices, is in fact to encourage the more privileged voices, and often to contain the marginalized voices within the terms set by the most privileged—as in the story-telling above. (See Maher and Tetreault, 1997.)

Beyond these issues of social power and identity in the classroom lies the particular nature of the gender relationships encoded in progressive education itself. I want to examine the masculine-feminine dichotomies in progressive educational theory, the male-female dynamics in progressive educational practice, and the relation between these two. It is not just that males, like the kids in the class above, are more powerful, have louder voices, and get paid more attention by teachers. Progressive educational theory deploys the late 19th century dichotomies of masculine and feminine, updated by Freud in the 20th century, to articulate the basis of its own project. My readings of three feminist theoreticians, Jane Roland Martin, Valerie Walkerdine, and Jane Miller have illuminated the increasing pile of research and essay articles on my desk testifying to the overt (leaving aside the physical) brutalities practiced by boys in school, their repression of girls, their refusal of anything feminine, and the collusion of their mostly female teachers in this situation. (See for example Martin, 1994, Orenstein, 1994, Sadker and Sadker, 1994, Stein, 1995, to name just a few examples.)

When Dewey linked the experience of the child to the academic disciplines, the direction of that link was clear—education was to move "from the child's present experience out into that represented by the organized bodies of truth that we call studies. . . . The various studies are themselves experiences, they are that of the race. They embody the cumulative outcome of the efforts, the strivings and the successes of the human race generation after generation." (Dewey in Dworkin, 97.) It is they which will enable the educator to "interpret the child's present puttings forth and falling away, in the light of some larger growth process in which they have their place." Thus the child's present experience, initially organized by sentiment, would be developed in the direction provided by the academic disciplines.

Many of us would of course now take issue with the consensual assumptions of what constitutes knowledge here. But there is a deeper issue. Most white feminist thinking about gender, until

very recently, has been governed by the unquestioned framework of a dichotomous split between public and private sphere, with women relegated to the home and given responsibility for caring, the emotions, morality and so forth, and men being given public lives and power. Formulations like Dewey's reflect an unstated assumption that inasmuch as education represents a developmental journey from the private to the public sphere as children grow, education itself is "masculine." As Jane Roland Martin puts it, "Educators tend to think of becoming educated not just as a process of acquiring new ways of thinking, feeling and acting. They also assume that it is a matter of casting off the attitudes and values, the patterns of thought and action, associated with domesticity." (Martin, 234.) In such formulations, home and family become naturalized, they are not arenas themselves to be developed but rather the starting points away from which development measures progress, the "nature" from which "culture" separates itself.

Holding on to the by now discredited perception of home and family as 'natural institutions,' retaining the outmoded custom of assigning women primary responsibility for running them, and persisting in the outmoded belief that whatever knowledge and skill are needed are innately female or will be picked up by girls and women as they mature, educators assume that these skills will take care of themselves ... Giving home the silent treatment, they view boys and girls as travelers to the public arena, and school as the place they stop on route to gain the knowledge, skills and values they will need to reach their destination." (Martin, 232, 234.)

Wanting to include such "home skills" in the curriculum for both girls and boys, Martin understands boys' "scorn" and "misogyny" as barriers to this inclusion. But she nevertheless presses for an inclusionary agenda, adding the "development of each person as a member of a home and family" to the goals of the curriculum, wanting to bridge the public-private sphere split in educational theory.

Valerie Walkerdine, however, believes that such inclusions will not work. She examines further the masculinized grounding of progressive education by looking at the deep-seated Oedipal basis of classroom dynamics organized around the enabling teacher-mother, the son whose activities she encourages, and the daughter whom she represses or ignores. She thereby documents the connection between the masculine and feminine in progressive educational theory and the treatment of boys and girls in practice. She shows why the simple inclusion of "home and family" topics, or the values of caring, concern and connection in the curriculum, or even equal attention to girls and boys in the classroom, will be rejected as long as the essentialized gendered dichotomy between male and female, public and private is not itself deconstructed. The key issue is not unity, no matter how inclusive of difference, but power.

Looking in one classroom at the ways in which the teachers described girls as doing badly at math even when doing well, and even the unsuccessful boys as having "real understanding" even when they didn't, she began to examine the continuous construction and reconstruction of the binary categories (assumed as a given by Martin) within this classroom, and the ways in which girls were constantly repressed as a result. Girls' prowess in mathematics was always discounted, usually by explaining it as a result of hard work and being dutiful rather than brains or "brilliance," which was the "real" basis of mathematical performance. Poorly performing boys on the other hand had "potential."

Very, very hard worker. Not a particularly bright girl ... her hard work gets her to her standards. (Whereas) Can just about write his own name. Not because he's not clever, but because he can't sit still ... very disruptive, but quite bright. (Walkerdine, 1987, quoted in Stone, ed., 1994, 58.)

Walkerdine argues that in child-centered pedagogies, the "child" is a construct, who develops within a "facilitating environment."

The two terms form a couple, the "child" and the "environment." Further analysis suggests that the mother and the teacher both become part of environment, and are defined by the very qualities that are opposite to those of the child, who is active and inquiring. The teacher and the mother, by contrast, are not necessary to instruct but to watch, observe, monitor and facilitate development. They are passive in relation to the child's active.

Furthermore this opposition of the passive teacher to the active child is necessary to support the possibility of the illusion of autonomy and control upon which child-centered pedagogy is founded. The capacity for nurturance becomes the basis for women's fitness for the facilitation of knowing and the reproduction of the knower, which is the support for, and yet opposite of, the production of knowledge. The production of knowledge is thereby separated from its reproduction and split along a sexual division that renders production and reproduction the natural capacities of the respective sexes. (Walkerdine, 61.)

Moreover, while the progressive classroom provides the overt message of activity and exploration, there is a parallel covert message demanding good behavior, neatness and so on, qualities which, while overtly pathologized are also desired, even required in girls. Girls' success (in rote-learning and rule-following) "while the object of much agonizing about their poor performance, "is precisely that combination which is required for the entry of girls into the caring professions, in this case specifically the profession of teaching young children."

I return to the issue of the gendering of the teacher below. But why, as in our introductory story above, are girls actively resisted when they try to be active, to excel, to play in the same games? Walkerdine gives a psychodynamic spin to Martin's general point, saying that success, achieve-

ment in the public sphere, including mathematical prowess and "potential," are all defined by their opposites, by what they are not, namely feminine, or female. "The rational self is a profoundly masculine one from which the woman is excluded ... the 'thinking' subject is male; the female provides the biological prop to procreation and to servicing the possibility of 'man.'" To allow actual women the same kind of success threatens men's control of a calculable universe, which covers a "desperate fear and desire of the other, woman." (Walkerdine, 59, 63.) Martin quotes a young woman's complaint:

Sometimes I feel like saying that I disagree, that there are other ways of looking at it, but where would that get me? My teacher thinks I'm showing off, and the boys jeer. But if I pretend I don't understand, it is very different. The teacher is sympathetic and the boys are helpful. They really respond if they can show you how it is done, but there's nothing but (aggravation) if you try to show them how it is done. (Spender, 1980, quoted in Martin, 237.)

It is not just that progressive educational theory is belied by improper, insensitive practices but that the theory and common practices are inextricably linked, at least in their assumptions about gender and their treatment of boys and girls. We need to rethink our pedagogy of "equity" and universal inclusiveness, which treats diversity as a matter of life-spicing variety and posits inclusiveness as a panacea for "difference." We need a pedagogy in which the ideals of unity and inclusion are replaced by a central concept of power, and the relationships of power in the classroom.

Repositioning the Teacher's Authority

One of the central relationships of power in the classroom is of course that between the teacher and the students, and one of the most complex issues in all pedagogical theory concerns the bases for the authority of the teacher. Both Martin and Walkerdine are worried about the limiting and harmful effects that the gendered equation of private sphere activities with women has on education; yet neither fully explores the implications for teachers of the disempowerment of the female that they describe. And yet because the elementary teacher is usually constructed as a woman, (and usually is a woman) her role is therefore theorized as that of the relatively passive, nurturing enabling female "other" of the "active" masculinized child. Her own role is naturalized and essentialized; the positive exercise of her authority and its problematics (including both her powers and her responsibilities) is minimized or even erased altogether. Of course progressive and child-centered teachers do exercise authority, but that authority is a vexing problem for many, associated in their minds with the more traditional classroom settings they want to avoid.

Was this erasure of the teacher as an active agent in Dewey's work? In an interesting recent piece exploring Dewey's relationship with the feminist activist and education reformer Ella Flagg Young, Ellen Lagemann asserts that Young convinced Dewey to offer "freedom and intellectual cooperation" to the teachers at the Laboratory School, rather than "supervision" and "technical training"; i.e., to treat them as peers and colleagues. He wrote, "It was from her that I learned that respect for freedom means regard for the inquiring or reflective processes of individual [teachers.]" However, Lagemann argues that this sensitivity did not outlast their relationship, and that *Democracy and Education*, his later master-work, reflecting his distance from classroom settings, provided a "lengthy discussion of school curricula but rarely mentioned teachers." (Lagemann, 1996, 181.) This failure to emphasize the significance of teachers, she asserts, "helped skew the interpretation of his thought and limited the practical value of his philosophy." (Lagemann, 173.) A similar neglect of the teacher's role characterizes *The Child and the Curriculum* and *The School and Society*, in spite of the teacher being the agent that brings these elements together.

Lagemann's concern with this neglect was twofold. First, ignoring teachers means ignoring the "necessary conditions for democratic education" which involve explicit attention to teachers' concerns, namely "freedom, respect, equal pay, classroom autonomy, and intellectually challenging professional training." Second, she points out that Dewey failed to critique the growth of the university-based science of education, whose advocates "were helping to create and legitimate hierarchical relationships between the mostly male professors who were to generate knowledge about education and the mostly female teachers who were to apply that knowledge." (Lagemann, 181.)

I was particularly struck by the parallels here between what Lagemann finds, or fails to find, in Dewey and in the analyses offered by Martin and Walkerdine. While Martin underscores the neglect of home and family in the curriculum and sees this as an attack on women's concerns and while she documents the sexism of male students, she does not explore the significance of these misogynies for the profoundly gendered construction of the elementary teachers' role. For Martin, as for Dewey, the curriculum and the students are the main concern, not the agency of the person who brings them together. Walkerdine points out that the passive female teacher is cast in opposition to the active male child, saying that ultimately, "rational argument requires the transformation of (social) conflict into a (manageable) discourse such "the nurturer facilitates the illusion of autonomy and control by the other, *rendering invisible the power of parenting and teaching*." (Walkerdine, 66; italics mine.) But her concern is the effects on the pupils, not the teacher, who remains ironically still invisible in her account.

In what ways is this invisibility gendered? In a recent book on women teachers, Jane Miller explores the paradoxes of women's roles in educational thought and practice, beginning by saying:

Whereas most societies have held back from educating girls, they have relied on women in a variety of ways to educate their children, and that in turn has unsettled the notion of what a teacher is, making it simultaneously honored and despised as a social role. (Miller, 1996, p. 1.)⁴

A key aspect of this ambivalence and ambiguity has been the relegation of teacher training to an inferior status in the academy, where many believe, either consciously or unconsciously, that teaching "can't be taught," like mothering, it is "natural" and naturalized, something women do instinctively and are instinctively good at, because they "love children." Beneath this appreciation lurks contempt, as Jane Martin has suggested above, for if something is natural rather than learned, if it cannot benefit from education and cultivation, then it cannot be worth much. And within this contempt lies a fear of empowering women as genuine agents in their work with children (or in any other profession.) Therefore education courses are often collections of techniques, imposed by male supervisors and based on externally driven research questions, and the whole question of the teacher's authority becomes confounded with and trivialized and buried by the main issue of concern to outside powers, namely the maintenance of "classroom discipline." Miller argues:

For if teachers are not to be thought of as intellectual workers, they are also not to be given help with those aspects of the job which deflect from a concentration on the (narrowly defined) subject matter which they teach. And that denial rings with the kinds of contempt meted out to the job of running families. As if the flexibility, the knowledge and the judgment required to carry out the job (of teaching) were the outcome of instinctive, innate capacities in women, rather than the result of thought, planning, experience discussion with others, and—very importantly—a collection of competencies which must be capable of developing productively over time. (Miller, 1996, 106.)

In this passage Miller also recognizes that there are in fact two models of the teacher, representing the primacy of either "the child" or "the curriculum" as the two poles Dewey wished to bring together. In one, the traditional subject-centered model, the teacher (conceptualized as a male) is the expert on the knowledge conveyed; his authority is based on his superior grasp of the material and his ability to convey it. In the student-centered model, the teacher (a female) is considered to be an expert on the developmental needs of the children.

In fact, most accounts of the good teacher exceed the notion of professionalism at both ends of the spectrum: the scholar, because his calling is based on his own gifts and passion for the subject; the mother/teacher, because in her own way she is doing what comes naturally. ... It is also remarkable that both extremes of the "good teacher" make any sort of training appear unnecessary. (Miller, p. 106-107.)

We might argue, indeed, that progressive educational theory constructs the teacher/child diad in a reversal of traditional educational theory, replacing the powerful teacher with the powerful child but leaving the oppositions themselves unchallenged. In progressive educational theory the facilitative teacher, with little ground to claim an authority that is often seen as illegitimately restricting the free-ranging child, is called upon nevertheless to be fair and equitable, so as to be inclusive of all students. And yet the teacher, particularly as a female, may often be at a loss for bases to construct her relationships with students to ensure this fairness to all. Miller writes about the "ambiguities" women teachers still face in conceptualizing their role in schools: "their uneasiness as educational theorists, their backing into pastoral positions in schools; and their frequent reluctance to name and stand by their authority, knowledge and expertise as teachers." (Miller, p. 246.)

From Feminist Pedagogies to Pedagogies of Positionality

I have been suggesting here that progressive pedagogies, particularly in their "child-centered" aspects, ignore the power relations between and among teachers and their students that problematize their goals of "unity" and "inclusion." But I am not therefore suggesting that teachers must reclaim an outworn authority based simply on knowledge, experience or academic expertise and impose their agendas, no matter how fair, onto children. To bring together the issues of classroom power and difference among teachers and students, discussed earlier, with the specific issue of the teachers' authority, I turn to new pedagogical approaches articulated by several theorists of feminist pedagogy. These approaches are based on the active construction of classroom relationships by teachers and students together. Carmen Luke, in Australia, calls for a "foundation of difference," Kathleen Weiler describes a "feminist pedagogy of difference," and Mary Kay Tetreault and I, in our recent book *The Feminist Classroom*, articulate the bases for what we call "pedagogies of positionality." (Luke, 1992, Weiler, 1991, Maher and Tetreault, 1994.)

What is a pedagogy of positionality, and how does it differ from one emphasizing inclusiveness, or child-centeredness, or equity? Most social differences in Western thought, in progressive educational theory as elsewhere, are traditionally cast as dualisms with one side being the less powerful (although the power relationships which set up the dualism in the first place are typically ignored.) Thus we have male/female, black/white, and teacher/child, to name a few, and "inclusive" pedagogical theories that then attempt to bring them together, transcend the differences, or in the case of teacher/child, suggest a reversal of the power relationship altogether. Each of these subjects, moreover, is assumed to have qualities which form the essence of an essentialized "identity," in today's parlance.

One of the great contributions of post-modern approaches within feminism and other fields of social thought has been to challenge the essentialism of such binary oppositions within much of cultural feminist theory, showing that our identities and subjectivities are multiple, changing, and always constructed in relation to others. So, too, with our "authorities." Classroom authority thus need not only be theorized as a finite entity to be won by either teachers or students, or even split between them. Rather it may be viewed as an ongoing process of active participation and negotiation; as Diana Fuss said of "experience," "authority" is always constructed, never "found." (Fuss, 1989.) In positional pedagogies, differences of authority—as well as those of gender, learning styles, cultural and class backgrounds and other variables that students and teachers bring to the classroom—are not viewed as fixed "identities" that must be transcended, included, or even bridged. Rather they are markers for shifting relationships of power whose dynamics themselves are at the center of curricular and pedagogic attention. Rather than being viewed as stumbling blocks to be avoided, the examination of these differences and relationships, called by some the "spaces between," is the place to begin. The goal is not to replicate these power relationships but to challenge and change them.

The teacher's authority is not set in opposition to the child's "freedom," but seen as a set of relations which can be acknowledged, as grounded in teachers' and students' evolving (and various) connections to each other, the curriculum, and the classroom and societal setting. For our feminist professor informants in *The Feminist Classroom*, as for many "progressive" and "feminist" teachers, authority was a particular problem; if the teacher is no longer the conveyor of traditional and hierarchical values, if moreover she is a woman, what are the grounds for her authority in the classroom? Our participants tended to base their authority autobiographically and contextually, as the outgrowth of their own work and experience, "consciously positioning themselves as knowers and learners for their students" so that their students could learn to become authorities for their own learning. (Maher and Tetreault, 1994, Chapter 5; 128.)

Similarly, Jane Miller describes a teacher whose female students are reading and writing romances:

taking them seriously as readers and writers ... such teaching is part of a carefully theorized account of language and learning and teaching. ... Teaching itself becomes handmaiden or critic to wider processes. The technologies are subordinate to what may be constructed in active, committed and shared classroom encounters and to ways in which these moments in peoples' lives may be described and theorized. (Miller, 1996, 118-119.)

The resulting construction of classroom knowledge is not hierarchically ordered but rather always contextualized—and evolving. With pedagogies of positionality, the teacher both acknowledges and interrogates her authority as a key aspect of the relations of difference and possibility in her classroom.

However, teachers need a power analysis to do this, and to see inequalities as matters of social constructions, rather than fixed identities, that a consciously structured classroom and school atmosphere can challenge and change. To the extent that progressive educational theory is enshrined and not critiqued, its pervasiveness as a model of "gender-blind" (not to mention race-, class, and culture-blind) inclusiveness will blind us to what needs to be done to create genuinely inclusive classroom environments. If progressive pedagogies can be opened to the analyses of power, and the relationships of power, offered by contemporary feminist and other thinkers, then both feminist teachers and their female (and male) students will benefit.

A final issue raised by positional pedagogies has to do with Lagemann's points about the erasure of teachers in Dewey's progressivism, which with Jane Miller's help we can see as a gendered move. Dewey's ignoring of teachers "helps skew the interpretation of his thought and limited the practical value of his philosophy." It meant failing to pay attention to the "necessary conditions for democratic education" which involve explicit attention to teachers' concerns, namely "freedom, respect, equal pay, classroom autonomy, and intellectually challenging professional training." It means understanding teaching to be more than technologies of delivery and control, demanding, in Miller's words, "thought, planning, experience, discussion with others, and a collection of competencies which must be capable of developing productively over time." It means examining and valuing the teachers' various forms of authority. All of these skills and concerns have been thought unnecessary for women. Contemporary agendas for school reform and teacher education, by ignoring gender and issues of gender inequality when they discuss teaching, risk recapitulating these blindnesses and denials.

Finally, teachers may be authorities and supporters for each other, breaking down the isolation of classrooms which reinforces the false assumptions of individual teacher blame and responsibility. It is clear from most of the accounts of gender bias in schools that teachers need to be supported and respected rather than ignored or solely blamed for the conditions of their work. Seeing the powers, responsibilities and needs of teachers, bringing female teachers into the center of the discussion on gender in the schools, may be ultimately the most central concern for the reworking of progressive "feminist" pedagogies.

Endnotes

1. Jane Miller's book is a much fuller treatment of the complex and contradictory aspects of women teachers' lives and roles than is possible here. She points out that while women were used as teachers, they also used teaching to further their own educations and build independent careers in opposition to the limiting roles of wife and mother. She also explores different ways of thinking about teaching, literacy, and other topics. Her book has a mainly English focus, although most of its themes are equally relevant for the United States. For discussions of various aspects of women teachers' lives and perspectives in the United States, historically and in the present, as well as the gendered nature of teaching, see the following sources: Apple, 1986; Freedman, Jackson and Boles, 1984; Grumet, 1988; Hoffman, 1981; and Strober and Tyack, 1980.

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The Easy Discourse on Inclusion, The Difficult Dialogue on Positionality, Epistemology and Political Change

Mary Kay Thompson Tetreault



Setting the Context

The windows of my office look out upon the main quadrangle of the campus, California State University, Fullerton, and the comings and goings of our 24,000 students provide a spectacle of the changing demographics of California, the first mainland state soon to have no racial or ethnic majority. The entering freshman class is equally divided among European-Americans, Latinos, and Asian-Americans at 29% each. African-Americans are less than 4%. This panorama of students also reflects the predominance of female students (58%) and older returning students who came to the University via a community college. This diverse student body is projected to become even larger. For example, the 22 campuses of the California State University (CSU) must plan to serve thousands more students, an increase of 26% by the year 2010.¹

Alongside these demographic changes are economic and political changes as well. No thoughtful observers believe that the state will be prepared to build and support new facilities beyond current campus ceilings and available space to accommodate these students, labeled "Tidal Wave II" by Clark Kerr. There is an apparent unwillingness of Californians to tax and spend in support of many governmental functions. Finally, two voter propositions—Proposition 187 and Proposition 209²—are a turning back on the promise of educational opportunity in California.

The leadership in the CSU, including the trustees and Chancellor Barry Munitz, have launched a major planning initiative, Cornerstones, which focuses on the crucial gap between the demand for higher education and projections about future public support. Their contention is that the

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magnitude of economic and demographic changes, coupled with the decline in state funding for higher education in California, require fundamental restructuring. The Cornerstones initiative rests on four fundamental commitments: educational excellence, access for the diverse population of California, demonstrated effectiveness, and a more responsive system to meet the demand in California for "liberally educated professionals." Of the four Cornerstones, the two that are most relevant here are to provide the highest standards of undergraduate education (quality) and meet the demand for higher education in California (access).³ The report is clear about the system's commitment to educating this dramatic influx of students into the system: "the inevitable route is either the denial of access, or maintaining access at the expense of quality. *Both are unacceptable.*"

Within this climate of reform, a number of CSU presidents have formed a Presidents' Task Force on Teacher Preparation and K-18 Education. Its purpose is to strengthen K-12 education by improving the quality of the CSU's school site personnel preparation programs and the system's relationship to K-12 education. The CSU has considerable influence in this arena as we prepare 60 percent of the state's teachers. The ultimate objective is institutional change that will transform educational practices and effect state education policy.⁴

The occasion of this conference prompted me to examine the Presidents' reform initiative, within the context of Cornerstones, for the inclusion of gender and race. My initial questions were: Given the diversity of California, how were gender, race and other significant dimensions of societal domination and oppression expressed in the reform document? How were gender and race taken up or suppressed in committee discussions? How did ideologies of whiteness and gender shape the way participants constructed students and programs? In this paper, I will use one of the subcommittee reports of the Presidents' Task Force, "Curriculum/Assessment/Standards," to illustrate how attention to inclusive language worked to suppress rather than reveal the underlying structures of power relations within the academy.⁵ I will demonstrate that it was relatively easy to add inclusive language to the documents and in turn ask why the conversation on "diversity" was so easy and why we avoided taking up discussions that approached epistemological and political questions. I will propose that standpoint theory, particularly how assumptions of whiteness and maleness lead to intellectual domination, may enable us to shift our analytical lenses from blaming "flawed individuals" to understanding more about complex intergroup relations and structural barriers.

Issues of Inclusion: An Easy Discourse

My search for references to gender, ethnicity and race in the Mission Statement of the Presidents' Task Force on Teacher Preparation and K-18 Education or in the "charge" to the committees did

not take long because there was no mention of their relevance for either the preparation of school personnel or the education of students. However, I learned by chairing one of the subcommittees, "Curriculum/Assessment/ Standards," that there was no resistance to inserting inclusive language. Our on-going discussions about the characterization of a well-prepared teacher and the status of the Liberal Studies Program, an interdisciplinary program designed primarily to supplant the education degree, which was discontinued in California in the 1960s, will illustrate my point. The marginal status of the program surfaced in the first meeting when a white male scientist, who directs the Liberal Studies Program at the system's most highly selective campus, San Luis Obispo, observed that professors don't want to teach in the program. Despite the fact that students are very academically able, the majority are females seeking to be elementary school teachers. Although the director and I agreed this was a gender issue, neither of us raised the issue with the full committee.

Gender and ethnicity came up at the next meeting when a white woman, who staffed the committee, pointed out that Liberal Studies programs, which are under-supported on campuses, throughout the system, primarily serve women and minorities. One of the white male members, a dean, said: "This is not particular to women and minorities. It is about snobbishness, it has to do with our history as normal schools. Our students are very diverse, 58% are women, and so I don't think you can say there are gender issues here." I proposed that the fact that teaching is a "woman's profession" may be relevant here. The discussion went no further at that meeting.

A central piece of the committee's work was developing standards that define the characteristics of a well prepared teacher educated in any CSU preparation program. At the meeting following the staff member's observation about gender and race and the status of our Liberal Studies programs, a Latino administrator from the Los Angeles Unified School District argued that the high level of diversity among the students shapes what is needed in a teacher. As chair, I perceived a receptivity to include language on gender, race and ethnicity and proposed that we add language that addressed these issues. No one dissented.

We then proceeded to insert inclusive language that included gender, race and other forms of societal privilege and oppression. For instance, the first characteristic of a well-prepared teacher speaks to a teacher's "knowledge of subject matter and ability to organize and communicate it effectively to all students." We inserted language that said she will not only "ensure students' mastery of the subject matter" ... but "help students to interpret and shape their place in the world." The second characteristic articulates a teacher's "knowledge of pedagogy and the ability to place students at the center of learning." In addition to being ... "able to plan instruction and use a

variety of instructional strategies, ... the well-prepared teacher will "respect students' learning preferences, cultures, and gender." Finally, to the characteristic of having a "knowledge of language and culture and the ability to use knowledge to plan and deliver effective instruction" we inserted this sentence: "CSU prepared teachers will have an appreciation for the multiple languages, and a comprehensive knowledge of the cultures which make up California's student population, as well as the educational needs of both girls and boys and students with special needs."

The committee also needed to attend to the presidents' wish for a program that integrated subject matter preparation and pedagogy. We then recommended "the development of new integrated subject matter/teacher preparation programs that embody interdisciplinary course work that integrates subject matter instruction and pedagogy ... with strong articulation with schools of education." All of our talk of the marginalization of Liberal Studies Programs and a review of their structure and resources on individual campuses led us to recommend "a review of existing Liberal Studies programs to ensure that the structure and resource allocations result in a core faculty committed to excellence in teaching and learning, appropriate course offerings, sufficient administrative time for coordination and advising, and establish a community of undergraduate majors who intend to become teachers."

The work of this committee illustrates a pattern in which we consistently demonstrated a consciousness of the importance of diversity and a disposition to "do the right thing" by adding inclusive language to our report. However, we stopped short of taking up the difficult dialogues about the political and epistemological issues embedded in our discussions. These issues include how the construction of teaching as largely a white women's profession has played into the devaluation of teachers and teacher education. They also include the hegemony of the traditional disciplines and the disdain for interdisciplinary programs that primarily serve prospective teachers.

Positionality: A Wedge into Difficult Dialogues

When I reflect on my experience in these reform committees, I see that my initial questions about inclusive language avoids difficult political and epistemological questions. Questions that I now have are: How did attention to the linguistic inclusion of gender, race and diversity work to maintain rather than challenge the structures of power? Could it be that inserting language on gender, race and ethnicity glossed over the assumptions of privilege that were at play? Was this another example of the persisting powers of the dominant voices to continue to "call the tune," to maintain the conceptual and ideological frameworks through which suppressed voices are distorted or

not fully heard? What theories might bring us to a level of understanding of the political and epistemological questions so that we can think anew?

Frances Maher and I have found that the theory of positionality and the literature on the social construction of whiteness are powerful lenses for examining privilege rather than oppression.⁶ Positionality is the concept advanced by postmodern and feminist thinkers that validates knowledge only when it includes attention to the knower's position in any specific context. While position is always defined by gender, race, class, and other significant dimensions of societal domination and oppression, it is also always evolving, context dependent, and relational, in the sense that construct of "female" create and depend on constructs of "male"; "black" and the term "of color" are articulated against ideas of "white." Thus peoples' locations within these networks are susceptible to critique and change when they are explored rather than ignored, individualized, or universalized.

A number of writers and scholars have focused on the cultural construction of these categories and shown how they change over time and exist on different levels simultaneously. For example, whiteness operates as description, as experience, and as ideology. The concept of who was white has changed to include successive groups of European immigrants, just as immigrants themselves changed to fit into some concept of whiteness. America's system of racial formation often confounded religion and race as well. Irish-Catholic immigrants took longer to shed an alien identity because Catholics were not regarded as altogether white and Jews were kept at the margin of white American because they were not Christians.⁷ Taking a lesson from Toni Morrison, who wrote in *Playing in the Dark* that we need to "go beyond looking at racism (and sexism) in terms of its effects on the victim and to consider the impact of (them) on those who perpetuate it," what are the privileges at play here?⁸

Excavating Privilege in the Liberal Studies Program

The relative ease with which we included language instructing teachers to pay attention to gender, race and ethnicity skirted the political and positional questions embedded in educating female students for a "woman's" profession. We mirrored the dominant discourse in which there is little explicit recognition of teaching, and particularly elementary school teaching, as a woman's profession, and how this influences faculty members' beliefs and the allocation of the institution's resources. Recently the Chancellor remarked that we need to get to the root of the problem. The problem is deeply rooted in our valuing of the things men have traditionally done—law and medicine, for example—more than the things women have traditionally done—

teaching and nursing. It is rooted in the individualistic orientation of the academy and the feelings of ambivalence for communal, collaborative, and nurturing ways of thinking and interacting—often associated with women.

In discussions of who our students are we most often talked of the generic student, allowing us to slid over the complexity of who our students are. This practice reminded me Adrienne Rich's image of how students are constructed as the "other" sometimes experience their education:

When those who have the power to name and to socially construct reality choose not to see you or hear you, whether you are dark-skinned, old, disabled, female, or speak with a different accent or dialect than theirs, when someone with the authority of a teacher, say, describes the world and you are not in it, there is a moment of psychic disequilibrium, as if you looked into a mirror and saw nothing.

Given the diversity among our students, could it be that our failure to take up the multiple meanings of this diversity was to avoid a moment of psychic disequilibrium as when we looked into the mirror and saw who our students actually are. There is little institutional consciousness of our valuing of male students, particularly white male students, more than white female students and students of color. What would be gained by having institutional discussions about whom professors expected to see in the mirror as they prepared for an academic career? How do the students before them reflect back on their idea of themselves as professors? For substantive institutional change to transpire, what is needed is a thoroughgoing discussion of why female students and the professions of teaching is devalued in the academy. Along with adding inclusive language, we need to do the more difficult work of unearthing our underlying assumptions about who is worth educating and which professions are worth preparing for.

The persisting power of the dominant voices to call the tune is also seen by taking up epistemological and positional questions as well. One positional or political question is the status of institutions that educate teachers. The institutional context for this reform initiative, beginning with the Trustees and the Chancellor and shared by many of the faculty, is a broad commitment to the importance of preparing teachers. However, the system has striven to be viewed as more than "normal schools" over the past 50 years as we have moved from our origins to being quality comprehensive universities. This push for quality feeds into the dominant epistemology of the academy, and in turn undermines the goal of developing new programs that integrate subject matter and pedagogy.

The dominant epistemology of the academy is that we must teach theory before we "allow" students to practice their discipline or profession. The philosopher Donald Schon has done a thor-

ough critique of this practice in universities, observing that we often prefer to exist on the high ground of theory and not be involved in the "swamp," the arena of real world problems. He proposes that we turn that position on its head and encourage students and professors to engage in "reflective practice."⁹ By this he means helping students, professors and professionals to become conscious of what they know and to build theory together from that knowledge. He argues that this approach is necessary if we wish to link the academic disciplines to the complex problems that exist in the world today, for example, educating all of our children. For someone who wants to teach, reflecting on how to teach a particular discipline to children is about their practice. However, this traditional epistemology gets in the way. Many faculty view the integration of subject matter instruction with pedagogy as a watering down of their teaching, as about pedagogy not content.

I have seen this disdain for pedagogy reflected among faculty who have a deep commitment to improving the teaching of their discipline in the public schools. I was reminded of this in a recent conversation with a prominent physicist, who had just received a major grant from the National Science Foundation to design a conceptual approach to the teaching of the sciences. He described with enthusiasm how the approach would be student centered, inquiry based, "hands on" but then said: "This is about content, it is not about pedagogy. We will model good pedagogy." I wondered if pedagogy was associated in his mind with education professors, a good percentage of whom are women.

While there are many faculty who enact the institution's commitment to educating teachers, they also construct their teaching primarily in relation to their engagement with the subject matter rather than perceiving the students as learners in charge of their own questions. As I listen to many of them talk, I am reminded of a vignette we presented in *The Feminist Classroom*.¹⁰ Nancy Grey Osterud, a professor at Lewis and Clark College at the time we observed her classes, told us how she had come to realize this distinction during a discussion of a basic concept in the field of gender studies. She had assumed that the students (about half of the class) who were silent just needed time and opportunity to become equal participants, and did not realize that they felt unprepared to join a discussion that presumed so much knowledge and experience with regard to gender issues. She said:

This became a self-reinforcing pattern, so I did not become aware that some students were confused until later in the term, when many had worked their way out of the initial difficulty by themselves. ... *In this instance, my engagement with the subject matter interfered with my performance as a teacher.*

Linking the Presidents' Reform Initiative to Cornerstones

Given the assumptions of privilege that are at play, how can these networks of privilege be critiqued and changed? I propose that the fundamental restructuring called for in *Cornerstones* is relevant here. Two principles in the *Cornerstones* document propose epistemological and political change. They are (1) placing students and their learning at the center of the academic enterprise and (2) awarding the baccalaureate primarily on the basis of demonstrated learning rather than primarily on the accumulation of credits. If students and their learning were placed more at the center of the academic enterprise, I can imagine on the one hand, that a student's gender would matter less, that professors in Liberal Studies programs, for instance, would place student learning at the fore and not the gender and not the gender of their students. On the other hand, I can imagine that if a student's learning were at the fore, professors would be more conscious of the multiple, and often competing, social realities that exist among members of different race and gender groups. This might enable white students to listen more easily as members of a racial group and male students as members of gender groups. Together, professors and their students would be empowered to socially construct reality in new ways and thus to thinking differently about teaching and learning. The students in the mirror would not be so remarkable for their skin color, their age, their physical abilities, or their gender but for what the professors wanted them to learn and how well they were doing.

If demonstrated student learning rather than the accumulation of credits were the coin of the realm, professors engagement with their subject matter would focus more on students as learners in charge of their own questions. If students' learning were at the center, the dichotomies of theory and practice, and content and pedagogy would fall away as the two became integrated in students' learning, particularly in programs that combine liberal and professional education. Their engagement with their subject matter would interfere less with their performance as a teacher. This focus on the student learning rather than the program, has the potential to alleviate the struggle between content and pedagogy. I have found that groups of faculty who decide that they want students to learn and how to assess their learning begin to break down narrow boundaries and truly rethink what they are doing in the classroom and beyond.

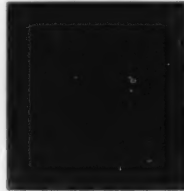
It is naive to think that these positional shifts are the answer to all complex relations of disciplinary and professional and gender and ethnic positions in the academy, however, engaging them rather than suppressing them has the potential to improve not only the way we educate future teachers but other students as well. To continue with merely making linguistic inclusions is too easy and doesn't either serve our students well or deliver on the promise of education in California.

Endnotes

1. We presently are a system of 256,000 that is projected to grow to 325,000 students by the year 2005 and to 358,000 by 2010.
2. Proposition 187 makes "illegal aliens" ineligible for public social services, public health care, and public education at all levels and requires state and local agencies to report them. Proposition 209, the so called Civil Rights Initiative, prohibits state, local governments, districts, public universities, colleges, and schools, ... from discrimination against or giving preferential treatment to any individual or group in public employment, public education, or public contracting on the basis of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin.
3. The percentage of state spending on higher education has dropped dramatically: from \$12.01 for each \$1,000 of personal income in 1975, to \$7.22 in 1996.
4. My personal experience with these initiatives includes serving as a partner on one of the Cornerstones' task forces, Learning for the 21st Century, and chairing a subcommittee of the presidents' K-18 reform initiative, whose central charge was to "develop standards and identify assessment systems to define the characteristics of a well-prepared teacher education on any CSU campus." As my campus' chief academic officer, I am responsible for facilitating campus conversations that will provide feedback to the Chancellor and the trustees on Cornerstones and seeing that the Presidents' K-18 reform initiative is implemented.
5. My "method" has been to review relevant documents, notes from meetings of the two committees I serve on, relevant conversations at a system-wide conference on Cornerstones, subsequent state-wide meetings of other chief academic officers, gatherings on my campus as well as written responses to Cornerstones from my campus.
6. With Frances Maher. *The Feminist Classroom*. New York: Basic Books, 1994. With Frances Maher. Learning in the Dark: How Assumptions of Whiteness Shape Classroom Knowledge. *Harvard Educational Review*, 67 (2), Summer 1997, 321-349.
7. My personal experience with these initiatives includes serving as a partner on one of the Cornerstones' task forces, Learning for the 21st Century, and chairing a subcommittee of the presidents' K-18 reform initiative, whose central charge was to "develop standards and identify assessment systems to define the characteristics of a well-prepared teacher educated on any CSU campus." As my campuses' chief academic officer, I am responsible for facilitating campus conversations that will provide feedback to the Chancellor and the trustees on Cornerstones and seeing that the Presidents' K-18 reform initiative is implemented.
8. Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (New York: Vintage, 1993).
9. Donald Schon, *Educating the Reflective Practitioner: Toward a New Design for Teaching and Learning in the Professions*. Jossey-Bass, 1990. *The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think in Action*. Basic Books, 1984.
10. Maher, Frances and Tetreault, Mary Kay. *The Feminist Classroom*. New York: Basic Books, 1994, p. 36.

Gender Equity in the Elementary Classroom: The Effects of Intervention with Teaching Methods

Kristelle E. Miller, Jane E. Maddy, Lori J. Schoch, Helen Rallis, and Billy Jo Hennager



American Association of University Women's research agenda including *Shortchanging Girls*, *Shortchanging America* (1991) and *The AAUW Report: How Schools Shortchange Girls* (1992) affirm a gender bias in the classroom. Teachers choose activities that appeal to boys' interest, give more classroom attention and encouragement to boys. In addition, teachers utilize methods which encourage competition, although there is evidence that girls learn more when cooperative methods are used. Regarding teacher-student interaction patterns, McGee-Bailey (1993) suggests these interactions indicate that the school climate is less encouraging for girls and young women than their male classmates. Jordan (1994) contends that girls are typically rendered invisible and inaudible by perfectly well-meaning teachers who, without awareness, fail to call on them, to give them feedback, to encourage them to work hard in certain areas, and to appreciate their intelligence. Schools which render girls invisible and inaudible perpetuate the tendency for males to feel confident, entitled and empowered and for females to feel disempowered and disregarded. As Gilligan, Lyons and Hanmer (1990) note, if the river of a girl's life flows into the sea of Western Culture she is in danger of drowning or disappearing altogether.

When questioned, most teachers prove to be unaware of such bias in their behavior and are appalled by the idea of it (Sadker & Sadker, 1982). According to Bailey (1993), one of the most important steps educators can take to reduce gender inequity in schools is to support faculty development programs. Although teachers are not blamed for the classroom bias, it is through teachers that change in biases can be made. Programs can help educators acquire teaching techniques to make their classrooms more gender equitable. As Sadker and Sadker (1984) note,

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teaching should be an intentional and active process rather than one which is passive and reactive in nature. When teachers become aware of the way they interact with male and female students, they can become more equitable in their response patterns.

Research suggests at least four teaching behaviors which tend to be biased in frequency for boys versus girls. Unfortunately, these techniques encourage more critical and in-depth learning. These four behaviors are response opportunities, wait time, probing and level of questioning. Response opportunity is a technique in which teachers allow students to answer questions, to contribute to discussion, to state opinions, to write on the board or to present something in class. In the typical classroom, one two or three students occupy a minimum of 25% of the teacher's time by calling out, raising their hands, or demanding attention in some assertive way (Grayson, 1987). Speaking out is a constant reinforcement of students' rights to be heard (Orenstein, 1994). Boys overwhelmingly dominate the classroom and consistently command more of teachers' time (Sadker & Sadker, 1986). Boys interrupt and command the attention of teachers while girls raise their hands politely and wait to be called upon (Mann, 1993). The hidden curriculum teaches girls to value silence and compliance. Educators reward assertiveness and aggression over docility. In this way, the very behaviors prized in girls become obstacles to their success (Orenstein, 1994). Girls learn to get along, while boys learn to get ahead.

Valuing assertiveness over docility also influences teachers' use of wait time. Wait time is the time teachers allow to elapse between offering and terminating a response opportunity (Levin & Nolan, 1996). However, the average time that a teacher waits for a student to respond to a question is only 2.6 seconds. Leinhardt, Marseewald and Engle (1979) found that teachers made more academic contacts with boys, gave more cognitive time to females in reading classes and males in mathematics classes.

Probing involves teachers' use of questions, providing clues, providing additional information, and/or suggesting an appropriate thought process for getting to the answer (Levin & Nolan, 1996). Probing is a powerful teaching tool because the teacher is guiding the student through a thought process leading to an appropriate response and also modeling that process for the class (Good & Brophy, 1978). The Sadkers (1991) contend that teachers encourage boys to work harder to problem solve while girls are provided with assistance in securing answers.

Level of questioning is a teaching strategy which requires students to achieve more complete mental processes than simple recall (Wilén, 1986). If a teacher falls into the habit of asking simple recall questions of some students and reserves higher level questions for a select group of stu-

dents, inequity exist. Studies generally suggest that males are given more opportunities to respond to higher level questions.

The Gender/Ethnic Expectations and Student Achievement (GESA) project is an intervention designed to address imbalance in the amount and type of attention and instruction that females and males receive. Three studies (Carlson & Felton, 1995; Grayson, 1987; Voorhees, 1994), although qualitative, suggest that teachers can reduce the disparity between females and males in their use of teaching techniques and become more conscious of teacher-student interactions. The findings of these studies are more speculative in nature as each of these studies was qualitative in their approach to these research questions. Hence, a study was needed that measured disparity of teaching techniques before and after an intervention as well as the relation of any disparity to students' self-concepts.

Summary and Hypotheses

Literature suggests that teachers' use of response opportunities, wait time, probing and level of questioning is inequitably distributed to female and male students. This can result in limiting girls' rights to be heard, to have validating learning experiences and increase their sense of self. This inequity is further exacerbated when teachers track girls away from courses of study that lead to non-traditional career opportunities (AAUW, 1991). The following reports the results of a study which intervened in teaching methods to determine if change in the distribution of techniques to females and males has a positive effect on students' self-concepts.

Method

Participants

Participants were five teachers (4 female and 1 male) and their 74 (47 female and 47 male) fourth graders who had complete Time 1 and Time 2 data on the self-concept measure. The ages of the students at Time 1 ranged from eight to ten years, with an average of 9.9. Over 90% were European-American, with 3% from Asian-America, African-American and American-Indian populations.

Measures

Self-concept. Self-concept was measured using the Student Self-Concept Scale designed by Gresham, Elliott and Fernandez (1993). This 72-item scale measures self-concept on three dimensions (Self-Confidence, Importance, Outcome Confidence) of three domains: Self-Image, Academic and Social. For Self-Image, students are asked to read statements such as, "I can look as nice as other kids my age," and indicate how [self] confident they are with that statement on a

3-point scale ("0" = not at all, "1" = not sure, or "2" = confident). Students then indicate the importance of that statement ("0" = not important, "2" = important, and "3" = critical). To indicate Outcome Confidence in Self-Image, students respond to a similarly worded item such as "If I look as nice as other kids, I will be liked," and indicate their response on a 3-point scale similar to the Self-Confidence response scale. Sample items for the Academic and Social domains are, "I can ignore classmates when they whisper or talk in class," and "I can ask other kids if I may join the game they are playing," respectively.

The manual provides a method to convert raw scores to standard scores, using separate norms for females and males. In order to assess the extent of sex difference with respect to self-concept, however, the raw scores were examined without conversion. Internal consistency of the subscales range from Cronbach's Alphas of .55 to .86. The authors conclude after comparing the SSCS to six other criterion-related measures that the SSCS is valid for assessing student self-concept. The interrelations among the nine subscales measuring self-concept in this study indicate very little redundancy in subscales.

Teacher Behaviors

Observations. Teachers were observed by trained research assistants for 27 behaviors representing four teacher methods: Response Opportunities, Wait Time, Probing, and Level of Questions. Each teacher was observed two times prior to the intervention and two times after the intervention (see Appendix A). The first observation (pre- and post-intervention) recorded the occurrence of 13 of the 27 behaviors. The second observation recorded the occurrence of the remaining 14 behaviors. For both pre- and post-intervention, the observers recorded the number of females and males in the classroom and recorded the occurrence of 13 different teaching behaviors separate for females and males. The count of resulting behaviors was divided by the number of females or the number of males in the classroom. In this way, each of the teaching behaviors was represented by two ratios equaling the ratio of the number occurrences to the total number of females or males. The second observation, prior to and following the intervention, focused on 14 teacher-student interactions for each student. For a given interaction the number of interactions with a given student was divided by the total number of interactions the teacher had with all students. After examining the frequencies of the 27 teacher behaviors, four were eliminated due to low or no variance, and the remaining 23 were grouped into four theoretical categories.

Intervention. Teachers participated in a 5-session course (15 total hours) taught by a certified GESA instructor. Course requirements included teachers observing one another in the classroom, learning how to give feedback to one another, lecture, analyzing videotapes, and keeping a journal.

Procedure

At the beginning of the academic year, the teachers were contacted and asked to participate in the study. Due to funding limitations, teachers were selected from schools predominately staffed with Minnesota Education Association members. Participating teachers received free tuition for college graduate credits but this was not a motivating factor, as most teachers had enough graduate credits. Pre-intervention teacher observations occurred before measurement of students' self-concepts. Post-intervention measures of teachers' behaviors and students' self-concepts occurred at the end of the school year, resulting in a 6-month interval between pre- and post-test measures.

Results

Teacher Behaviors

To determine Time and Sex of Student differences in teacher behaviors, a multiple analysis of variance was calculated. The teacher behaviors were the dependent measures and Sex of Student and Time (pre/post intervention) were the independent measures. Each of the 23 dependent measures and Time was treated as a repeated-measure factor. Due to small sample size neither the multivariate nor the univariate effects could be interpreted. Therefore, only the means are reported. Results suggest Sex of Student differences in six of the teachers behaviors (see Table 1).

Table 1 Means for Females and Males in Time 1 and Time 2 Teacher Behaviors

Teacher Behaviors	Time 1		Time 2	
	Females	Males	Females	Males
Level of Question				
Low	82(.50)	76(.33)	60(.23)	68(.51)
Procedural	45(.32)	50(.21)	22(.20)	24(.19)
Probing				
Follow-up	13(.19)	13(.10)	21(.12)	18(.24)
Praise	06(.07)	07(.08)	01(.02)	03(.03)
Verbatim Repeats	13(.10)	13(.09)	05(.09)	06(.07)
Response Opportunities				
Called On	81(.42)	84(.43)	30(.53)	56(.50)
Teacher Questions	10(.07)	14(.07)	13(.17)	16(.12)
Wait Time				
One Second	12(.11)	15(.08)	12(.19)	13(.11)

note: $n = 5$
standard deviations in parentheses

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Examining the means (averaged across Time) suggests that compared to female students, male students volunteered more, were praised more and received more questions from their teachers. However, compared to females, males appeared to received more lower level questions and fewer positive responses from teachers.

Only three (two indicators of questions asked and one indicator of lower level questioning) of the 23 teacher behaviors were significant for Time which is attributed to chance. Eight of the teacher behaviors appear to have a Sex of Student by Time interaction. These eight behaviors were examined in two ways: sex differences within time and time differences within sex. When examining sex differences within Time, results suggest that for Time 1 compared to females, males received fewer low level questions, fewer procedural questions, more praise, more teacher questions and more one-second wait time. In Time 2 compared to females, males received more procedural questions, fewer follow-up probing, more praise, more verbatim repeats, more questions and more one-second wait time.

Examining the Sex of Student by Time interaction in the second manner, that is, comparing time differences within each sex, suggests that compared to Time 1 teacher behavior, in Time 2 teachers gave females fewer low level questioning, fewer procedural questions, more follow-up probing, fewer verbatim repeats, and more teacher questions. Compared to teacher behavior in Time 1, in Time 2 teachers gave males fewer low level questions, more follow-up probes, less praise, less verbatim repeats, more teacher questions, and less one-second wait time.

Students' Self-Concepts

To determine Sex, Teacher, and Time differences in students' self-concepts, a multiple analysis of variance was calculated. The nine self-concept subscales were the dependent measures and Sex of Student, Teacher and Time were the independent measures. Time and Scale (type of subscale) were treated as repeated-measure factors.

Results indicate a multivariate effect for Scale, $F(8,56) = 29.64, p < .05$, for Teacher, $F(4,63) = 3.08, p < .05$, a Sex by Scale interaction, $F(8,56) = 2.21, p < .05$, a Teacher by Scale interaction, $F(32, 236) = 2.24, p < .001$, and a Teacher by Time interaction, $F(4,63) = 3.47, p < .05$.

Examining the main effect for Scale indicates that students generally rated their Academic self-concept higher than their Social self-concept and their Social self-concept higher than their Self-Image self-concept (see Table 2). Four of the subscales had significant sex differences regardless of time. In general, females rated their self-concept higher (see Table 3). Newman-Keuls post-hoc

Table 2 Subscale Means in Student Self-Concept

Scale	Mean	Standard Deviation
Self-Image		
Self-Confidence	1.4235	.29
Importance	1.034	.389
Outcome Confidence	1.2055	.425
Academic		
Self-Confidence	1.6405	.283
Importance	1.4015	.382
Outcome Confidence	1.75	.2875
Social		
Self-Confidence	1.565	.281
Importance	1.321	.3655
Outcome Confidence	1.5275	.334

Table 3 Sex Differences in Student Self-Concept Subscales

Self-Concept	F (1,71)	Females	Males
Academic			
Importance	7.56**	1.50(.30) ^a	1.29(.34)
Social			
Self-Confidence	8.73**	1.64(.19)	1.48(.27)
Outcome Confidence	8.06**	1.61(.24)	1.44(.29)
Importance	5.32*	1.40(.29)	1.23(.34)

note: $n = 72$

^a = standard deviations in parentheses

* = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$

analysis of the main effect for Teacher indicates no two groups were significantly different at $p < .05$ level. Examining the Teacher by Subscale interaction indicates that five subscales had teacher differences. Results indicate that Teacher 2 was significantly higher than Teachers 1, 3, and 4 in their students' Self-Image Confidence (see Table 4). Teacher 2 was higher than Teachers 3 and 5 in their students' Self-Image Importance, and Teacher 5 was higher than Teachers 3 and 4. For the other two subscales no two groups were significantly different at $p < .05$.

Table 4 Student Self-Concept Differences by Teacher

	F (4,71)	T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
Self-Concept						
Outcome Confidence	4.36**	1.28	1.64	1.39	1.40	1.48
Importance	3.49**	.95	1.26	.87	.96	1.19
Social						
Importance	3.27*	1.31	1.44	1.17	1.20	1.50

note: $n = 75$ * = $p < .05$ ** = $p < .01$

T = Teacher

To explore the Teacher by Time interaction, Time was averaged across subscales and was contrasted using a Bonferonni t -statistic. Results indicate that students' self-concepts significantly dropped in two teachers' classrooms and increased in one teacher's classroom (see Figure 1).

Relationship Between Teachers' Behaviors and Students' Self-Concepts

To determine which teacher behaviors best predict students' self-concepts, regressions were calculated. The dependent measure was self-concept averaged across all nine subscales for Time 2 for each sex. Self-concept was averaged across subscales because there was no significant Scale by Time Interaction. The independent measures were the eight teacher behaviors believed to have a Sex by Time interaction. In predicating Time 2 self-concept, Time 1 self-concept was entered first, followed by in a stepwise fashion the eight significant teacher behaviors at Time 1, and then behaviors at Time 2 also entered stepwise. Regressions were calculated separately for females and males.

Results indicate that for males, none of the teachers' behaviors at Time 1 or Time 2 predicted self-concept at Time 2 beyond knowing self-concept at Time 1 (see Table 5). For females, in predicting self-concept at Time 2, self-concept at Time 1 accounts for none of the variance in Time 2, but teachers' use of follow-up probing at Time 2 added a significant proportion (99.5%) of the variance in self-concept at Time 2 (Table 5).

Figure 1 Mean Differences in Self-Concept for Pre- and Post-Intervention by Teacher

Students' Self-Concepts

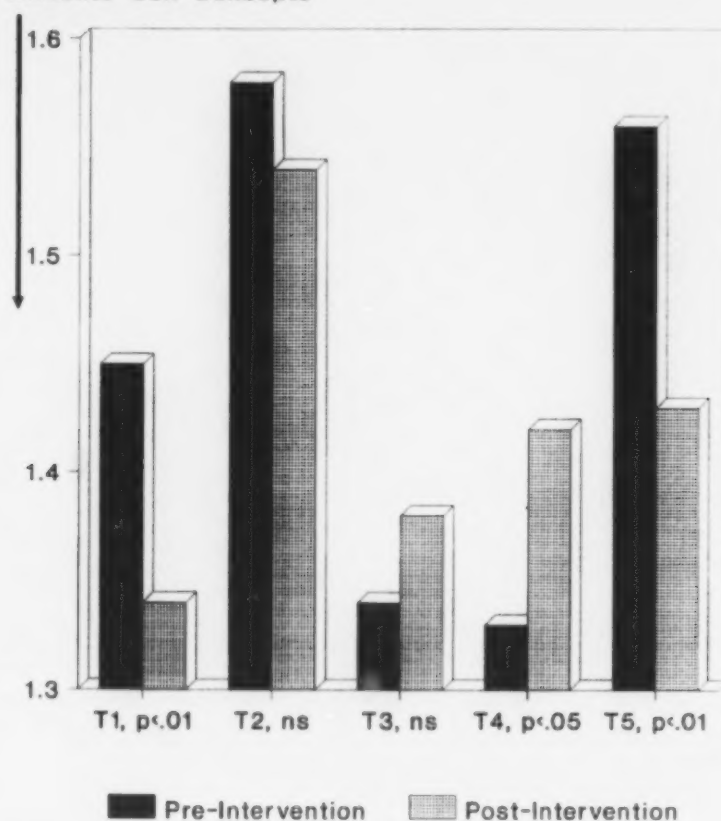
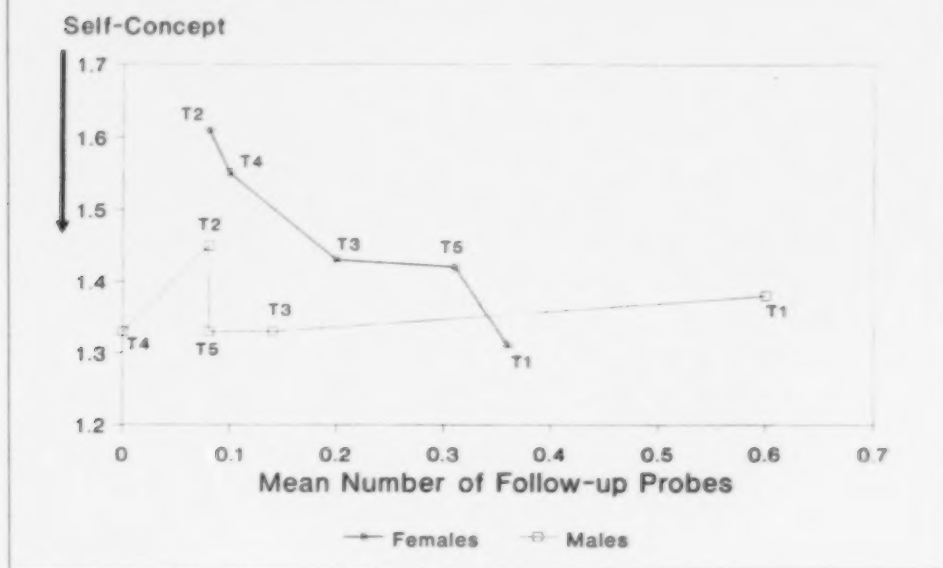


Table 5 Predictions of Time 2 Students' Self-Concepts by Teachers' Behaviors

Predictors	Beta	T	R ²	R ² change	F change	p
Males						
<i>Step 1</i>						
Time 1 Self Concept	.93	4.31	.86	.86	18.63	.02
Females						
<i>Step 1</i>						
Time 1 Self-Concept	.02	.03	.00	.00	.00	.98
<i>Step 2</i>						
Time 1 Self-concept	.31	6.32	.99	.99	445.60	.02
Follow-up Probes	-.99	21.10	.99	.99	445.60	.002

To explore these results further, teachers' use of follow-up probes at Time 2 was correlated with Time 2 Self-Concept for females and males. Results indicate that teachers' use of follow-up probes is unrelated to males' self-concept at Time 2 ($r = .00$, $p = .99$), but is negatively related to females' self-concept at Time 2 ($r = -.95$, $p < .05$). The differential relationship between each teacher's use of follow-up probes and self-concepts for females and males is illustrated in Figure 2.

Figure 2 Post-Intervention Mean Use of Follow-Up Probes and Self-Concepts of Females and Females in Each Teacher's Classroom



Discussion

This study attempted to intervene in fourth grade teaching methods to determine if there was a differential relationship between teaching methods and student self-concept for females and males. Results produced four interesting findings. First, teacher behaviors generally favored males over females, but the difference decreased after intervention. Second, there were sex differences in self-concept regardless of pre- or post-intervention. Third, students' self-concepts varied by which teacher they had. Fourth, teachers' use of follow-up probes was negatively related to females' self-concept.

Although teacher behaviors at pre-intervention generally favored boys over girls, this disparity decreases after the intervention. It appears that initially teachers used probing more for males than for females but after the intervention teachers gave more follow-up statements to girls such that the frequency was more similar for girls and boys. Further, after the intervention teachers

gave both boys and girls less praise and less verbatim repeats. Both of these behaviors make sense in that teachers were reducing the frequency of techniques which do not facilitate students' critical thinking skills.

A similar pattern occurs with wait time of one second and level of questioning. Compared to pre-intervention behaviors, teachers used less low level and procedural level questions and more one-second wait time. Since there is only so much time in a lesson, teachers moved to decrease use of low level questions such as "When did women get the right to vote?" and procedural questions such as "Who needs a pencil?" However, learning to use more high level questions appears, anecdotally, to be difficult for the teachers. Teachers noted that higher level of questioning was the hardest behavior to do. However, they said that their students were coming better prepared because students could no longer get by with simple answers like "Yes " or "No."

A second finding was there were sex differences in self-concept regardless of the intervention. Girls reported higher self-concept in three of the social domains and in one academic domain. Perhaps six months is not a long enough interval to detect any influence of teacher behaviors on students' self-concepts. Further, these results suggest that attention to boys' self-concept continues to be important. Further interpretation of this finding is limited since in this study there was no control group.

The third finding relates to the second in that changes in students' self-concepts varied by which teacher they had. Of the five classrooms, students significantly improved in self-concept for one of the classrooms and significantly decreased in two of the classrooms. It is understandable that there would be differences in the average self-concept of each classroom as a function of the selection of students in each classroom. Yet, the decrease in self-concept is particularly disconcerting. A quick explanation would be that the measure of self-concept use is not a stable measure. However, the authors of the measure have evidence of its stability. Another, more complicated, explanation is that teachers have an influence on students' self-concepts at this age when, perhaps, self-concepts are more malleable. Which teacher behaviors and attitudes would have influence on students' self-concepts? The last finding of this study may suggest part of an answer.

Teachers' use of the follow-up method for probing has a significant negative relationship to change in females' self-concepts. In predicting self-concept of students after the intervention, for girls there was virtually no relationship between self-concept before and after the intervention. This result is surprising, particularly since there was a significant positive relationship between pre- and post-intervention self-concepts for boys. Assuming all data checking were correct, this result sug-

gests that the measure of self-concept used in this study is stable for boys but not for girls. An alternative explanation is that, individually, girls are experiencing varying changes in their self-concept in the fourth grade, i.e., their rank order of self-concept changes significantly from November to May. Could this be the beginning of the dip in self-concept for girls that much of the literature sites? Further, how does teachers' use of follow-up probing illuminate this finding?

Results of this study suggest that teachers' use of follow-up probing is significantly negatively related to girls' self-concepts after the intervention. Without a control group it is inappropriate to suggest that teachers' use of follow-up probing questions causes negative changes in girls' self-concepts, as this could be a spurious finding. Yet as Good and Brophy (1978) suggest, giving students follow-up probes gives students a chance to acquire the correct response, feel successful and enhance their self-concepts. If teachers' use of follow-up probes has an influence on self-concept how persistent is this effect? It is safer to suggest that teachers may be sensitive to girls who have low self-concepts and use more follow-up probes with these girls. This appears not to be true for boys. Perhaps teachers are better at detecting levels of girls' self-concepts than they are at detecting boys' self-concepts. Alternatively, girls may be better at indicating their level of self-concept than boys. Conceivably, boys with low self-concepts could be acting out in class, demanding more attention, which then dictates the type of interactions they have with their teachers. These interactions may result in facilitating classroom management rather than facilitating boys' academic self-concepts.

As noted, this study had several limitations including the sampling of teachers and having no control group. However, within the four categories of teaching techniques, follow-up probing appears to be important. Finally, a few of the teachers' comments are pertinent to understanding the relationship between teacher behaviors and the gender of their students. One teacher noted, "I saw that I was assigning all the housekeeping duties to females." While another veteran teacher came to the following realization. She said "I didn't realize how much I sat on the stool in front of the class to teach. The stool is now in the corner and I am moving among the students as I teach." Even veteran teachers want to advance in their pedagogical skill which, as this study suggests, may have significant effects on their students.

Authors' Note

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Appendix A Observations of Teachers' Behaviors

First Observation

Response Opportunities

- # of different students called on or questioned
- # of different students who volunteered an answer
- # of different students who asked a question or made a comment
- total # of times any; students volunteered
- total # of times any student was called on

Probing

- # of follow up questions to different students
- # of negative responses to different students
- # of positive responses to different students
- # of neutral responses to different students
- # of times feedback given to different students

Level of Questions

- # of times teacher used low-level questions
- # of times teacher used high-level questions
- # of times teacher used procedural questions

Second Observations

Response Opportunity

- # of teacher statements
- # of teacher questions
- # of teacher questions with no response received
- # of answers volunteered by students
- # of answers once called on
- # of students who asked a question
- # of statements or remarks by students

Probing

- # of verbatim repeats from teacher
- # of follow-up probes
- # of teacher praises
- # of teacher criticisms or negatively-phrased feedback

Wait Time

- # of times teacher waited one second in interchange
- # of times teacher waited two seconds in interchange
- # of times teacher waited three seconds in interchange

note: each teacher behavior assessed for both males and females

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Preservice Teacher Attitudes and Knowledge of Gender-Equitable Teaching Methods

Sherrill Evenson Pryor



Although there has been national recognition of inequity based on gender for over two decades, disparate educational outcomes which contribute to male and female stereotypical life roles predicated on the accident of gender persist (AAUW, 1992; Mullis, et al., 1991). Stereotypical roles influence many boys to pursue unrealistically high career goals (Sadker & Sadker, 1994; Grossman, 1994) and on average, women's earnings are lower than men's earnings even when women have more education (U.S. Dept. of Labor, 1994). Teachers day-to-day practices with students, which are influenced by their attitudes and beliefs, are at the heart of gender-affirmative change (Pryor, 1996). According to Eccles (1989), knowledge of the existence of sexism, sensitivity to evidence of it, and a desire to counteract it are prerequisites to any effort to make a classroom environment gender-equitable. Researchers believe that the teacher education curriculum is a logical intervention point for addressing bias in K-12 education (AAUW, 1992; Grant & Secada, 1990; Sadker & Sadker, 1994). Thus while gender equity is a required component of many program standards, recent studies regarding gender-equity programs revealed that the inclusion of gender equity instruction in preservice teacher education programs is minimal to moderate, varies from instructor to instructor, and is frequently infused into methods courses or multicultural/human relations courses (Mader, 1994; Wilson, 1993).

The purpose of this study was to examine the implications of prospective teachers' egalitarian attitudes or "beliefs about the equality of males and females in school [or] university settings" (King & King, 1993, p. 19) and knowledge of gender-equitable classroom practices (i.e. classroom practices that eliminate all sex-related bias in interaction and participation patterns, class-

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room management and organization patterns, and student expectations to ensure that all male and female students develop to their fullest human potential) (Pryor, 1996). Two research questions asked were:

1. To what extent are preservice teachers knowledgeable about gender-equitable classroom practices?
2. Is there a difference between elementary and secondary and male and female preservice teachers' scores on the knowledge assessment of gender-equitable classroom practices and on the Sex Role Egalitarianism Scale Form BB (SRES-BB)?

More specifically, the study asked preservice teachers to respond to a gender-equitable classroom practices knowledge assessment, an egalitarian attitude scale, and a demographic instrument.

Subjects

The subjects of the study were 758 preservice teachers at three large Midwestern universities of whom 96% had attended high school in the Midwest. An instrument was designed to determine the impact of the teacher education course of study on the preservice teachers' knowledge of gender-equitable classroom practices. The preservice teachers in the sample were attending their required student teaching orientation session. Of the 758 subjects, 214 subjects identified themselves as males and 529 subjects identified themselves as females. Fifteen subjects gave no response regarding gender. The ethnic background of the 758 subjects is listed in Table 1.

Table 1 Number of Preservice Teachers by Ethnic Background

Caucasian	AfricanAm	Hispanic	AsianAm	NativeAm	No Response	Total
540	37	16	10	7	148	758

A chi-square goodness of fit analysis with the 1993-1994 population of practicing teachers (Statistical Abstract, 1995, p. 77) revealed there were no differences on the variables of either gender or ethnicity between the sample and the teacher population. See Table 2 and Table 3.

Table 2 Chi-Square Male/Female Goodness of Fit of 1993-1994 Teacher Population and Sample

Group	Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%
Total Sample	214	28.8	529	71.2
Population	694,098	27.1	1,867,195	72.9

$\chi^2 = 1.09$, $DF = 1 = 3.84$

* $p < .05$. Results = ns.

Table 3 Chi-Square Ethnic Goodness of Fit of 1993-1994 Teacher Population and Sample

Group	AfricanAm		NativeAm		AsianAm		Caucasian		Hispanic	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total Sample	37	6.1	7	1.1	10	1.6	540	88.5	16	2.6
Population	188,371	7.4	20,064	0.1	27,510	1.1	2,216,605	86.5	108,744	4.2

$\chi^2 = 8.29$, $DF = 4 = 9.49$

* $p < .05$. Results = ns.

Design

This was a quasi-experimental study utilizing quantitative and qualitative methods. Three instruments were used in the study, an instrument to determine sex-role egalitarian attitudes, a researcher-developed demographics instrument, and a researcher-developed instrument to assess knowledge of gender-equitable classroom practices.

The Sex Role Egalitarianism Scale form BB (SRES-BB), a 5-point Likert scale instrument, measuring "attitudes toward equality between the sexes" (Beere, 1990, p. 516) was selected to examine the relationship of sex-role egalitarianism and knowledge of gender-equitable classroom practices. The SRES-BB contains 25 items in five domains of sex-role egalitarianism: marital roles, parental roles, employment roles, social-interpersonal-heterosexual roles and educational roles. Based on Cronbach's alpha, the internal consistency of the SRES-BB was estimated at .91 in the pilot study.

In preparation for the study, the Assessment Regarding Classroom Practices (ARCP) was created using gender equity literature as the foundation for the questions (Pryor, 1996). Three major categories of gender-equitable classroom practices were addressed in the preparation of the instrument:

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1. Expectations or "inferences that teachers make about the future behavior or academic achievement of their students, based on what they know about these students now" (Good & Brophy, 1987, p. 116).
2. Interaction which applies to the teacher-initiated dialogue between teacher and student (Pryor, 1996).
3. Classroom management and organization which refers to how the teacher groups students and selects or creates activities within the learning environment that facilitate the learning process (Pryor, 1996).

The questions were reviewed by a jury of five experts in the area of gender equity and the final instrument containing 37 true/false/unsure response items was pilot-tested using a sample of 103 preservice teachers from a university not included in the study.

Based on Cronbach's alpha, the instrument had .84 internal consistency reliability estimate. Forty-five minute classroom observations were also conducted during the second half of a 15-week student teaching experience to explore the validity of the instrument using a total of seven pilot subjects (four high-scoring and three low-scoring). Using an informal seating chart on which the gender of each student was identified, interactions were recorded with behavior codes and tally marks, and percentages of various interactions were calculated by gender. Notes and/or quotes from preservice teachers and the students were written on an observation worksheet with a list of major concepts covered in the ARCP instrument. Although both groups of student teachers exhibited some inequitable classroom practices, the four high-scoring student teachers exhibited more gender-equitable classroom practices and better classroom management skills than did the three low-scoring student teachers.

A general description of the sample was determined by collecting demographic data such as race, gender, area of specialization, etc. The data from this instrument were used to compare the sample subjects to the national picture of teachers in the field.

These same three instruments were administered at an introductory session of the student teaching experience at each university during a 30-minute interval. At two of the universities, the researcher was on site to describe the study, to answer questions, and to administer and collect the instruments. At the third university, the researcher described the study and the instruments to university supervisors. The supervisors were given background information on the study and written directions for administration, including the same verbal directions which were used with the other two universities. At the two universities where the researcher was present unanticipated exit comments from the sample were recorded by the researcher.

Results

1. To what extent are preservice teachers knowledgeable about gender-equitable classroom practices?

While sample preservice teachers were aware of general aspects of gender equity, overall preservice teacher knowledge of gender-equitable classroom practices is generally low. The mean, median, range and standard deviation for the ARCP are listed in Table 4 below.

Table 4 Mean, Median, Range, and Standard Deviation for the ARCP

ARCP	N	Mean	Median	Range	SD
	758	18.34	18.27	32	6.17

A frequency distribution of the scores for the ARCP revealed that only 7.3% of the sample preservice teachers correctly answered 75% or more of the items. Likewise, on average, preservice teachers in this study correctly answered fewer than 50% of the items on the ARCP.

In preparing the ARCP instrument, three knowledge level questions were matched with three application level questions. A greater percent of preservice teachers responded correctly on the knowledge level questions than responded correctly on the application level questions (see items 1 and 34, 3 and 18, and 5 and 32 in Table 5). For example, preservice teachers knew that the English language is inherently biased, but they did not know how the language affects students' thinking and application in the context of learning. Likewise, preservice teachers knew that in general males get more feedback that enhances higher level thinking, but preservice teachers did not know that females often get feedback that results in low ability messages.

Matched items examining similar factual content generally revealed comparable percentages of correct responses as shown in items 14 and 19, 23 and 36, and 25 and 37 of Table 5. In other words, preservice teachers knew that stereotyping is influenced by beliefs and attitudes. They were also aware of the greater amount of interaction received by males in the classroom and the bias that can be found in curriculum materials. All of these areas have had a national focus of attention within the past several years.

However, preservice teachers gave a greater percentage of incorrect answers than correct answers when asked about equity in mathematics or equity for gifted females and African American females. Further, fewer than 60% of the preservice teachers were aware of subtler forms of bias

Table 5 Percent of Correct Responses, Means, and Standard Deviations for Each Set of Matched Questions (*n*=758)

Matched Questions	% Correct Responses	Standard Deviation
#1	76.3	0.43
#34	42.2	0.49
#3	87.7	0.33
#18	45.8	0.50
#5	61.9	0.49
#32	26.3	0.44
#14	78.0	0.42
#19	82.7	0.38
#23	56.9	0.50
#36	60.7	0.49
#25	60.0	0.49
#37	60.0	0.49

such as the disparity in the number of reprimands of males and females and the disparity of classroom task assignments between males and females.

Finally, 88% of the preservice teacher sample correctly answered item 3, an interaction question revealing a basic awareness of the differences in the amount of attention given to males and females. Over 82% of the preservice teacher sample correctly answered item 19, an expectation question revealing awareness that student achievement is influenced by teacher attitudes and perceptions regarding gender.

2. Is there a difference between scores of elementary and secondary preservice teachers or male and female preservice teachers, on the ARCP knowledge assessment of gender-equitable classroom practices and on the SRES-BB egalitarianism scale?

To assess the differences in mean scores on the ARCP and on the SRES-BB egalitarian scale on the variable of certification level, *t* tests were calculated. Elementary (K-6) and secondary (7-12) certification levels were analyzed, and no differences were found by certification level on the SRES-BB or the ARCP, although some studies have found differences by certification level on gender-equity attitudes (see Table 6). Thus, in this study, certification level was not a factor in preservice teacher knowledge of gender-equitable classroom practices or egalitarian attitudes.

Table 6 Results of *t* Tests for the SRES-BB and ARCP by Certification Level

Certification Level	SRES-BB				ARCP—Total		
	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>
Elementary	445	110.01	16.94	1.85	18.13	6.40	-1.11
Secondary	313	107.57	19.21		18.64	6.00	

**p* < .05. Results = ns.

Differences in mean scores of the sample on the knowledge test of gender-equitable classroom practices and on the SRES-BB egalitarian scale were analyzed on the variable of teacher gender using *t* test. It was found that females out-scored males on the SRES-BB and on the ARCP Expectations subset (see Tables 7 and 8). These findings support the results of earlier studies of attitudes and gender-equity issues. While the gender of preservice teachers impacts their egalitarian attitudes and knowledge of gender-equitable expectations, it does not affect their overall knowledge of gender-equitable classroom practices or, more specifically, gender-equitable classroom practices of interaction or management and organization.

Table 7 Results of *t* Tests for the SRES-BB and ARCP by Gender

Gender	SRES-BB				ARCP		
	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>
Male	214	103.23	20.45	-5.89*	17.76	6.29	-1.87
Female	529	111.59	16.18		18.69	6.08	

**p* < .05.Table 8 Results of *t* Tests for Subsets of the ARCP by Gender

Gender	ARCP—Int				ARCP—Exp			ARCP—M/O		
	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>
Male	214	6.98	2.91	-0.49	6.31	2.35	-3.50*	4.47	2.25	-0.93
Female	529	7.09	2.70		6.96	2.26		4.64	2.30	

**p* < .05.

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Preservice teachers commented on the source of their knowledge and attitudes regarding gender-equitable classroom practices on the demographic instrument. Respondents were asked to identify any sources of knowledge and attitudes that applied. Results are shown in Table 9.

Only 38% of the respondents identified teacher education classes/experience as a source of their knowledge, while 35% identified either self education or nonacademic sources.

Table 9 Classes/Experiences Impacting Preservice Teachers' Knowledge and Attitudes Regarding Gender-Equitable Classroom Practices by Percent ($n=758$)

Classes/Experiences	N	% of Sample
Teacher education	289	38.1
Multicultural education	174	23.0
Women's studies	42	5.5
Major/minor classes	182	24.0
Self-education	157	20.7
Nonacademic sources	117	15.4
Specific course or professor	116	15.3

Conclusions and Recommendations

Preservice teachers are exiting university teacher education programs with a minimal level of knowledge about gender-equitable classroom practices (Pryor, 1996). Yet gender cuts across all other groups in our society as each individual's gender is predetermined before birth. These results corroborate findings in studies of the 1980s, and more recently by Martin and Lock (1991) in a study of preservice physical education teachers. Wilson (1993) found that 45% of the universities responding to a survey (with a 37% response rate) on gender-equity program inclusion had a component in the teacher education program. In Michigan, Mader (1994) found that institutions had minimal to moderate levels of gender-equity instruction and that instructors believed that students did not want to learn about equity. It is no wonder that there is a minimal level of knowledge of gender-equitable classroom practices.

Preservice teachers who are knowledgeable about gender-equitable classroom practices are more likely to have egalitarian attitudes (Pryor, 1996). Results from both sample respondents and pilot-test respondents revealed that the higher the score on the ARCP, the higher the score on the SRES-BB. Further, results from the pilot-test subjects revealed that the higher the score on the ARCP, the more likely that the individual would implement gender-equitable behaviors in student teaching. These findings corroborate research which indicated that teachers' attitudes on a gender

topic improve when the teachers become more knowledgeable about the topic (Erickson-Ruckle, 1984; Keyes, 1992; Martin & Koppelman, 1991). An individual must be open to learning about gender-equitable classroom practices in order to learn and implement these practices. Thus, knowledge acquired in a workshop or in college courses has the power to change attitudes and behavior (Beauvais, 1986). The transfer of gender-equity concepts into lesson planning and actual practice is corroborated by Nelson (1990), Grayson (1985), and Sleeter (1989).

Differences in egalitarian attitudes and knowledge of gender-equitable classroom practices are unrelated to a teacher's certification level. Neither the SRES-BB scores nor the ARCP scores were significantly different for sample preservice teachers at either the elementary (K-6) or secondary (7-12) certification levels, but slightly higher means for egalitarianism were found at the elementary certification level. However, mean scores on knowledge of gender-equitable classroom practices were higher for the secondary certification level than for the elementary certification level. Siefert et al. (1980) and Erickson-Ruckle (1984) found that elementary and early childhood preservice teachers, respectively, were more likely to have egalitarian attitudes. However, Avery and Walker (1993) found that secondary preservice teachers had a deeper understanding of the impact of gender issues on society. This latter finding may also help explain the secondary-level preservice teachers' higher scores on the ARCP.

Egalitarian attitudes are related to one's gender, with females being more egalitarian than males. Teacher expectations are also related to one's gender, with females having greater knowledge of gender-equitable student expectations. In addition, while findings were not significant, gender-equitable interaction and management and organization practices mean scores were higher for females than for males. Thus, overall, females were more knowledgeable about gender-equitable classroom practices. Corroborating these findings, Siefert et al. (1990) also found that males were more likely to stereotype than were females. Nelson (1990) found that women were more likely to include gender-inclusive materials in their courses.

In examining classes or experiences that had an impact on knowledge and attitudes regarding gender-equitable classroom practices, it was found that only 38% of the subjects identified teacher education classes as having an impact. Teacher education was the highest response area of all suggested sources of information, but self-education was identified as another response area having an impact on the knowledge of 21% of the respondents. Since no source of information area had more than a 38% response, the researcher concludes that there is no consistent gender-equity curriculum component in preservice teacher education. Thus, preservice teacher knowledge of gender-equitable classroom practices may in part be the result of recent publications such

as the AAUW (1992) report "How Schools Shortchange Girls," the publication of "Failing at Fairness" by the Sadkers (1994), and media coverage of gender differences in educational outcomes rather than the result of actual university programs.

Teacher education programs play a critical role in helping teachers develop skills needed to address issues related to gender bias in the classroom. University program leaders and faculty should be committed to developing and implementing an infusion program in which gender-equitable classroom practices are taught and modeled. At the very least, each preservice teacher should develop an understanding of equity issues and how equity affects social and economic development of individuals. Further, upon exiting the teacher education program, preservice teachers should be able to describe a philosophy of equity reflecting basic gender-equity knowledge and egalitarian attitudes.

These results show that there is much more to be done to create a gender-equitable environment for the children of the next millennium. Looking to the future and educational reform, teachers with knowledge of gender-equitable practices and egalitarian attitudes will enhance the overall equity climate of the school. They will be able to take a leadership role within their schools that could improve outcomes for all students. Some of these same teachers will become administrators who will be knowledgeable about gender-equitable classroom practices and will be modeling egalitarian attitudes and moral leadership in their selection of staff and through the induction processes. As Margaret Mead once said, "Every time we liberate a woman, we liberate a man."

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Multiple Cultures & Perspectives in Teacher Education: A Postmodern Feminist Perspective

Iris M. Striedieck



We do not see things as they are, we see things as we are.

The Talmud

Calls for the inclusion and evidence of multiculturalism in teacher education are varied. Gay (1986, 157) states that in a time period "... of demands for educational excellence, increased teacher competence in pluralistic school settings, and equality of opportunities for ethnically diverse students, more concerted and systematic attention must be given to multicultural teacher education." More specifically, Gay (1983) suggests the following approach to teacher education:

Preservice professional preparation should include knowledge about ethnic and cultural diversity, the creation and selection of instruction materials which reflect ethnic and cultural pluralism, and the translation of their knowledge about ethnicity into multiculturalized plans and strategies for instruction. (p. 82)

Much of the research in multicultural teacher education is suggestive of various techniques or models which programs of studies should adopt in order to develop awareness of the concept of multiple cultures and perspectives and foster intellectual growth (Banks, 1994; Eisner, 1985; Gay, 1986; Nieto, 1992; Pedersen, 1988; Sleeter & Grant, 1994). The essential task for educators and researchers, however, becomes one of being able to identify and develop conceptual frameworks that support inclusive educational equity.

The following conceptual framework represents an eclectic approach toward making meaning of and understanding events of the everyday. I begin by discussing separately the elements of femi-

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nism and postmodernism as they relate to educational practice, from which I develop a postmodern feminist perspective. Concluding this section are implications from this integrated conceptual framework for teacher education which imbues multiple cultures and perspectives.

Feminist Theory

The vast array of literature on feminist theory attests to the range of sub-theories which exist under this umbrella term. The intent of this section is to critique the fundamentally shared and differing concerns of traditional and contemporary feminism in general, rather than to present the various types of feminisms that exist.

A fundamental assertion of traditional and contemporary feminism is that women's lives and experiences have value. Both are concerned with the production and reproduction of gender identity in a patriarchal system and how to establish a means of social transformation. Harding (1987) observes how feminist research has and continues to represent feminist efforts.

Feminist research is distinctive in its focus on gender as a variable and an analytic category, and in its critical stance toward gender...it generates its problematics from the perspective of women's experiences. It also uses these experiences as a significant indicator of the 'reality' against which hypotheses are tested...Feminism is fundamentally a moral and political movement for the emancipation of women. (pp. 29-32)

Historically, issues have been raised by feminists regarding the role and authority of teachers in the classroom and the sources of claims for knowledge and truth. Issues of contention have traditionally involved single perspective presentations and single claims for truth. Both Swarts (1991) and Maher (1987) underscore the importance of multiple problem-posing and problem-solving that feminist educators promulgate as a necessary and valuable process in the classroom.

Another distinctive characteristic of feminism is its attention to the importance of voice. Secada (1995) offers a terse but powerful definition of this concept: "Voice refers to the discourse that is created when people define their own issues in their own ways, from their own perspectives, their own terms—in a word, speak for themselves" (p. 156). Discourse, as used in these writings refers to "a socially accepted association among ways of using language, of thinking, and of acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group" (Gee 1987, p. 3).

In the context of the classroom, Weiler (1988) asserts that voice

... is related to the means whereby teachers and students attempt to make themselves present in history and to define themselves as active authors of their own worlds. Voice in this sense represents those multiple subjectivities, discourses, and biographies that constitute teachers and students alike within relations of power, history, and experiences. (p. xiii)

Collectively, these concerns of feminism function primarily as "... a form of attention, a lens that brings into focus particular questions" (Fox Keller 1985, p. 6). As concerns of feminist researchers, however, these issues are often interpreted in myriad ways, and as such, create a departing point for traditional and contemporary feminists.

Early feminist thought centered around common assumptions of oppression and consciousness as they related to gender. Landmark writings such as those of Gilligan (1977, 1982) and Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1986) were instrumental in bringing to light the experiences of women and girls in challenging theories of psychology and behavior previously established from the perspectives of males. An explicit assumption of these researchers' assertions was that the experience of gender was universal. While this assumption is widely contested today, this totalizing conception of "femaleness" was essential for the creation of a revisionist perspective.

The inconsistencies of such early feminist assertions have been widely challenged by contemporary feminists.

[W]hile the specific manifestations of such universalizing tendencies in feminist theory might have been diverse, the underlying problem was the same. It was the failure, common to many forms of academic scholarship, to recognize the embeddedness of its own assumptions within a specific historical context. (Nicholson 1990, p. 2)

Weiler (1991) and Ball (1992) assert that universal goals of feminism fail to address and respect the differences between women, their racial origins, their social class, and the fact that women may be both privileged and oppressed in various situations. Ball (1992) elaborates:

... women are not a unified group. Differences of social class, ethnicity, age, sexuality and professional status mean that women experience sexism in different ways....We must remain sensitive to the power differences between women as well as to what unites us. (p. 13)

Implicit in these arguments is the observation that any attempt to singly identify aspects of human experience as factors which cause inequity for women is at odds with any notion of inclusiveness. Rather, by establishing unitary themes, voices become suppressed—voices of individuals whose experience does not represent the “unitary” experience.

Weiler (1988) reminds us that feminists are generally white and middle class, and while they may share female experiences in a patriarchal society, they are often separated by class and race from a multitude of others, and as such, may be challenged in seeking a unified analysis of underlying structures.

What we need to do is be very clear about the specific meanings of class, race, and gender for people in differing relationships of control and power in a society dominated by capitalism, racism, and patriarchy. We need to locate ourselves in these complex webs of relationships. (Weiler 1988, p. 54)

The discussion of feminist theory so far has progressed from viewpoints which recognized and valued women's experience to viewpoints which sought to label the experience of gender as a unifying experience to the eventual recognition that knowledge about gender is multidimensional. A logical ‘next step’ for feminists in the unending search for ethics, social justice, and equality is to look beyond the issues which pertain to women only, and in an interdisciplinary manner, scrutinize broader issues in our patriarchal society which afflict all members. Such a vision invites a postmodern perspective.

Postmodern Theory

The evolution of postmodernism follows a similar evolutionary path that contemporary feminism did, in that it was created from a pre-existing and limiting notion. The notion from which postmodernism was created was logically modernism. The mere ten year existence of postmodernism as a theory of education has yet a shorter life span than contemporary feminism, and as such, a rather short history.

To understand postmodern ideology and relate it to the context of education, it is necessary to examine the constructs of modernist educational thought. In the long history of the modernist mindset, assumptions of linearity prevail, in which models of “if-then” and “either-or” are carried out. If students learn particular material to be demonstrated on standardized tests, then they are considered knowledgeable. Authoritative interactions frequently occur in modernist classrooms between teacher and students, in which teachers know all and students receive all. As such,

personal and cultural experience is generally not valued or recognized as instrumental in the learning process. Competition is yet another characteristic of modernist behavior, which often times, is practiced at the expense of fostering group cooperation. Implicit in the emphasis on competition is an emphasis on individuality.

As assumptions were questioned about how knowledge is created and used, and how knowledge is acquired and learned, the notion of postmodernism emerged. Postmodernism, in its simplest form, is an explicit argument against dualistic thinking and constrictive boundaries. Gergen (1991) summarizes concisely the fundamental goal of postmodernism:

No one wins the postmodern game, but all players benefit from the way it exposes the pseudocertainties that plague modernism. Inclusionary and nonhierarchical, the games allows us to challenge the traditional rules that penalize the outsiders, the players from the margins. (pp. 197-98)

To this end, the interpretations and applications of this ideology are as myriad perhaps as those of feminism. Several perspectives follow.

Westwood (1992) perceives postmodernism as a means by which to question and dismantle the grand narratives, those assumptions which universalize our existence and identity. Grand narrative, in this sense, is in reference to one voice, that of dominant culture, speaking for the experiences and interpretations of those experiences of all members of society. This is similar to the attempts by early feminists to speak for all women's experience.

In lieu of one grand narrative, Westwood opts to create space for multiple narratives. She contends that "narratives are the constructions we make about the world from personal experience to grand theory" (Westwood 1992, p. 195), and as such, are not simply an opportunity to provide a voice, but to recognize our speaking positions. In the classroom, such an assertion directly confronts modernist assumptions of linearity, personal experience as knowledge, and authority.

Kincheloe (1993) fundamentally recognizes that postmodernism is a creation from modernism. In addition to questioning assumptions of knowledge creation and use, he recognizes the human function in this process as well. Specifically, Kincheloe claims that "...our subjectivities are formed by the cultural forces of race, class, gender, and place ... [and that] they construct boundaries and possibilities in our various relations" (Kincheloe 1993, p. 13). Thus, the classroom becomes a critical site in which to challenge hierarchical structures of knowledge and power and to conceive of knowing as contextualized.

For Lather (1988), "[t]he postmodern argument is that the dualisms which continue to dominate Western thought are inadequate for understanding a world of multiple causes and effects interacting in complex and nonlinear ways, all of which are rooted in a limitless array of historical and cultural specificities" (p. 576). In her later writings she asserts that "[t]o write 'postmodern' is to simultaneously use and call into question a discourse, to both challenge and inscribe dominant meaning systems in ways that construct our own categories and frameworks as contingent, positioned, partial" (Lather 1991, p. 1). As an implication for the classroom, Lather's beliefs invite multiple problem-posing and problem-solving.

Upon closer examination, several limitations of postmodern ideology become apparent. As suggested in these interpretations, it is tempting to simply question all 'authority' and claim all positions and personal perspectives as viable and acceptable alternatives to whatever issues are at stake. Indeed, this is one of the significant criticisms of postmodern thought—a lack of centeredness and excess relativity (Nicholson 1990).

The notion of centering any position, perspective, or voice is itself problematic for those who believe it is not possible to understand certain experiences. "Critical voices who speak from the margins ... argue that certain spaces cannot be understood from certain positions—that identities are neither all-knowing as in the centered humanist model nor implicitly able to assume all kinds of contradictions as in the decentered postmodernist model" (Worth 1993, p. 9). The argument is made that it is not always possible to use personal experience (or lack of) as a variable in understanding or being empathic toward the experiences of diverse individuals.

The issue of access to the postmodern discourse is yet another concern which critics of this theory voice. "We deceive ourselves if we believe that postmodern theory is attending to the inclusion of 'Otherness' so long as so many concrete 'others' ... are excluded from the conversation" (Bordo 1989, p. 140). Bordo suggests that postmodern discourse is itself elitist and exclusionary and perhaps no different than what its proponents claim the modernist perspective achieves.

With all its aspirations and loopholes, postmodern ideology has great potential for both growth and destruction. As a means of providing intentional filters of particular cultural worlds and representing particular experiences and ways of knowing, postmodernism boasts great potential. However, without some commitment to ethics, social justice, and equality as filters through which to monitor how we know and act, postmodernism becomes a lethal weapon for understanding diversity. In light of these observations and those made earlier about feminism, I eclectically select components from both from which to create my perspective of a postmodern feminist.

A Distillation of Feminism and Postmodernism

Each of the broad theories of feminist and postmodern ideology have strengths and limitations in their pure forms. It is largely the notion of specificity that allows me to take an eclectic approach toward creating a useful and meaningful conceptual framework. I use the strengths of one field of study to inform and expand the other.

Postmodernism potentially informs and expands feminist thought in multiple ways. "Concerned with the difficulties of ever producing more than a partial story of women's lives in oppressive contexts, postmodernist feminist researchers regard "truth" as a destructive illusion [and] ... view the world as endless stories or texts ..." (Olesen, 1994, p. 164). Lather (1991) expounds:

The production of grand social theories, which by definition attempt to speak for all women, was disrupted by the political pressures put upon such theorizing by those left out of it—poor and working-class women, women of color, lesbians, differently-abled women, fat women, older women...In sum, the tendencies toward practice-based theorizing in American feminism interrupt theoreticism in ways that efforts toward a post-modern praxis cannot afford to ignore. (p. 27)

Weiler (1988) posits that "... postmodernism offers feminism some useful ideas about method, particularly a wariness toward generalizations which transcend the boundaries of culture and region" (p. 5). She also claims that an analysis of identity "... calls for a recognition of the positionality of each person in any discussion of what can be known from experience" (p. 467).

Each of these claims caution feminists who center gender as the lens through which meaning of life experiences is made to identify the limitations of their claims based upon such situational factors as race, class, geographic region, sexual preference, and age. In essence, postmodernist thought evokes a self-reflection about our positions and about the positions of those we speak for and with.

Contemporary feminism, in turn, potentially offers postmodernism several qualities which help to provide greater cohesion. By claiming an agenda which centers issues of ethics, social justice, and equality, postmodernism would allow itself a much needed grounding, while still amply allowing for the possibility of multiple interpretations. Without assiduous attention to such consideration, discourse becomes nothing more than proclaiming all perspectives as potentially valid, including those which work against these values. Perhaps Nicholson (1990) provides a missing link.

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A postmodern feminism could thus both support certain procedural aspects of natural science or other reflexive criteria of validity claims, that is, "decision procedures to guide choices in theory, research, and politics," while also acknowledging such support as political and grounded in a particular cultural context. (p. 11)

Through the writings of feminist researchers, greater insights into our lived experiences have occurred, including insights of similarity and difference. While contemporary feminist researchers now recognize the limitations of generalizing to all individuals who may be in any way similar to their research participants, they also believe it is possible to make accurate and valid assertions about individuals as group members. In its purest form, postmodernism, on the other hand, does not recognize gender as an entity due to the implication of it being a unified notion, and as such, no conversations of "oneness" are possible. Stivers (1993) speaks convincingly to this issue as a concern of knowledge development.

These awarenesses about the humanly constituted, contextual, interpretive nature of knowledge do not mean that it is simply a matter of personal whim; whether the knowledge acquisition process is relatively "subjective," as in the case of personal narrative, or "objective," as is the stated goal of social science, the methods an investigator brings to the process, and the interpretations she makes based on them ... are grounded in the consensual rules of the relevant knowledge community rather than in transcendent standards. On this basis, feminists can say coherently that individual, contextual accounts such as are found in personal narratives are "real knowledge" in as weighty a sense as the knowledge claims of positivism, though the blend of subjectivity and objectivity is different for each. Such an assessment provides a foundation for feminism's critical stance. (p. 410)

Recognition of a feminist critical stance such as this would allow postmodernists to claim unity within diversity, without great compromise to their fundamental beliefs.

Finally, the limited access and effect of postmodern ideology may be expanded when joined with feminist efforts. Feminist writers use research as "... an important political tool in which knowledge and experiences that were private pains have become a collective document, collectively produced and owned" (Westwood 1992, p. 197). As such, feminists appear to have a broader and more established visibility than their postmodern counterparts. More importantly, their writings are accessible to those for whom their efforts are intended, published as both scholarly and public reading.

In light of the perceived strengths and limitations of both feminism and postmodernism, my beliefs as a postmodern feminist are formed. In essence, it is my belief that postmodern feminism is fundamentally a movement for emancipation from hierarchical structures of knowledge and power and commits itself to morality, social justice, and equality for all individuals. Hence, voice and position in society by virtue of race, class, geographic region, sexual preference, and age

become critical parameters through which meaning and knowledge are created, underscoring the importance of maintaining a grounded perspective of culture that is inclusive of all prospective teachers—a characteristic missing in many current and piecemeal conceptions of multicultural teacher education.

Wisdom for Practice in Teacher Education

When considered in the context of education and research, this conceptual framework stresses the need for a greater degree of participatory interaction between learners and providers of education as well as between researchers and participants, drawing attention to the fact that diverse groups and individuals may participate differently in educational programs.

Perhaps the most salient suggestion for the field of teacher education is to reconceptualize the compensatory notion of multicultural education as it now exists to a notion of multiple cultures and perspectives as integral to all aspects of teacher education. In this manner, teacher education that imbues multiple cultures and perspectives is conceived of as ongoing, scholarly, and critical for all experienced and prospective teachers to engage in, regardless of their ethnic, racial, and cultural background. The benefit, of course, is for all students, regardless of their ethnic, racial, and cultural background, to engage in equitable learning.

Related to this suggestion is the need to help all prospective teachers to realize and identify their cultural selves as a foundation for recognizing their inclusion in the discussion of culture. This is particularly salient in light of the evidence which suggests that prospective teachers frequently conceive of culture as Other, are "homogeneous," or have cultural experiences which are different than the schools in which they will teach.

The creation of learning experiences which examine the ways in which conflict, voice, position, and power are carried out in our personal lives and in the classroom is one critical lens through which patterns of similarity and difference may be discerned by prospective teachers.

Consequently, by attempting to recognize and examine both the specific and shared nature of experiences of prospective teachers in this manner, issues of classroom dynamics become a focus. An inductive approach to imbuing multiple cultures and perspectives in the classroom recognizes the importance of the composition of the class as a dynamic factor in shaping classroom discourse (Maher & Tetrault 1993), as well as the projection of multiple voices. Lewis and Simon (1986) corroborate such a call for inclusiveness by noting that "[t]he ingenuousness of an educational process that attempts to obliterate the personal and political is profoundly silencing"

(p. 464). The challenge for teacher educators and prospective teachers is to recognize how such notions manifest themselves in diverse classrooms and schools and the effects they have on prospective teachers' and children's educational experiences.

Similarly, instructor position in the classroom also influences what and how students will learn. "When instructors move from positions of expertise into collaboration, they may be more inclined to replace traditional classroom hierarchies with more 'open-ended' pedagogies" (Wilkerson, cited in Fitzgerald & Lauter, 1995, p. 743). In such learning environments,

... students seek mastery on their own terms and in concert with others. Thus individual mastery is embedded and folded into the social construction of knowledge. It becomes individual and collaborative rather than hierarchical. Rather than achieving one right answer, students make increasingly more sophisticated connections with the topics. (Maher & Tetreault 1993, p. 24)

Integral to this process is a regard for how our ethnic, racial, and cultural identities shape our experiences and how we interpret them. Indeed, it is largely through these human characteristics that meaning-making and knowledge construction occur. Such calls for the inclusion of multiple cultures and perspectives in teacher education will not be answered by imposing the use of assembly-line models which merely require teacher educators to fit puzzle pieces together without regard for the characteristics of their schools of education and the experiences prospective teachers bring to the classroom. Rather, by viewing human understanding as a hologram, "pieces" are viewed as images of the whole (Egan 1986). Metaphorical insights such as this also recognize that [t]here are endless ways of being and becoming educated. We may try to specify certain necessary conditions, which may form a "core curriculum," but the sheer diversity of individual students and of social and cultural contexts makes even this a most problematic task. (Egan 1986, p. 33)

Providing teacher educators with windows of opportunity into their own and other classrooms is one valuable way in which meaning-making both reflects the idiosyncrasies of classrooms and schools and allows for broader connections to be made. Such opportunities answer, in part, the problematic task of creating core curriculum which adequately consider student diversity by allowing the "...core curriculum [to] be rooted in each college's own academic focus, its special approach to the world, and the kind of students it enrolls," (Campbell and Flynn 1990, p. 10). Furthermore, core experiences can be formulated through differing approaches, allowing for "what we wish our students to learn" and "who our students are" (Ladson-Billings 1995, p. 749).

Finally, through rigorous assessment of our course syllabi for assumptions of Western cultural bias added opportunities avail themselves to examine our biases, beliefs and values as individuals and as teacher educators. As Tisdell (1993) acutely notes, "it is impossible to change what remains unconscious" (p. 224). Fitzgerald and Lauter (1995) address the imperatives of assessing syllabi by noting: "If exposure to a set of common texts lies at the heart of the syllabus, one cannot but be caught up in the tension between covering what is laid out there as distinct from focusing on what is going on here in the classroom" (p. 743).

Reconceptualizing teacher education to be more holistically inclusive of multiple cultures and perspectives best begins with comprehensive and qualitative insights gleaned from individual classrooms in which such practice occurs. "When the results of a person's research can be placed in juxtaposition with those of others, we can make a more complete statement, and possibly a more important one, about the phenomena we are studying ... [and noting how] certain clusters of studies do make important statements" (Ely 1991, p. 228). It is in creating and making accessible stories of teacher education classrooms which collectively make important statements about the inclusion of multiple cultures and perspectives that such an invitation is extended.

*Every man, woman, and child seeks equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity,
without discrimination.*

Eleanor Roosevelt

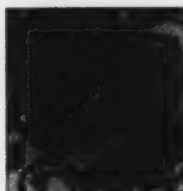
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Integrating Gender Equity and Reform in Higher Education

Beth Farokhi, Carolyn C. Thorsen, Molly Weinburgh



Background

"Integrating Gender Equity and Reform" (InGEAR), a three-year experimental project funded by the National Science Foundation (HRD #9453106), promotes quality science and mathematics education for girls and boys in Georgia. Five Georgia universities have collaborated to address the issue of equal access and gender equity in science, engineering, and mathematics (SEM). The lead institution, Georgia Institute of Technology, is joined by Clark Atlanta University, Georgia State University, Georgia Southern University, the University of Georgia, the American Association of University Women (AAUW), and the Georgia Initiative in Mathematics and Science (GIMS).

Equal access and gender equity are promoted when students are encouraged to explore and discover, are challenged intellectually, and experience success that is born out of these opportunities, regardless of gender. Access also involves being aware of career opportunities associated with science, mathematics, and related technical fields.

Project Goal

The project goal is to change the way elementary, middle, and high school teachers learn to teach by transforming universities in Georgia that sponsor teacher preparation programs by integrating strategies for equity and excellence. This goal is consistent with the vision of GIMS that is supported by the National Science Foundation. Specifically, InGEAR activities support the following GIMS goals.

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1. To create a sensitive environment that is accepting of personal experiences and cultural influences while increasing the successful participation of under-represented groups in mathematics and science.
2. To initiate fundamental changes in the state educational structure to empower students, teachers, parents, administrators, and the community toward scientific literacy.

Project Objectives

Relative to higher education in the state of Georgia, the project has two main objectives:

1. To facilitate the redesign of teacher preparation programs in ways that will:
 - a. enhance the interest, motivation, and success of both women and men who are SEM majors, and
 - b. prepare future teachers who will promote equal access and gender equity in K-12 SEM classes.
2. To provide professional development opportunities for faculty and teaching assistants who teach SEM pedagogy and content courses that will:
 - a. increase awareness of the need for and barriers to equal access and gender equity in SEM,
 - b. identify strategies for promoting equal access and gender equity within SEM pedagogy and content courses at the post-secondary level, and
 - c. provide resources that faculty and teaching assistants can use to equip SEM education majors to promote equal access and gender equity in K-12 SEM classes across Georgia.

Project Strands

There are four major strands which address the project objectives. These are the *institutional self-study* lead by Georgia Southern University, *professional development* lead by Georgia State University, *tool kit* lead by the University of Georgia, and *curriculum framework* lead by Clark Atlanta and Georgia Institute of Technology. Strand leadership is provided by the lead institution with strand leaders remaining current with the scholarship pertaining to their strand, providing specific deliverables, and providing technical assistance for participating institutions. Each strand is intended to be implemented on each campus participating in the project, and project management is provided by the stand leader at Georgia Tech. All institutions have input into the development of the strand with implementation being tailored to fit the specific needs of each campus.

Project Accomplishments

Institutional Self-Study

The Institutional Self-Study is an ongoing activity at each university.

Professional Development Strand

The professional development strand leader is Dr. Molly Weinburgh at Georgia State University. Before teacher preparation programs can be fully renovated, faculty and graduate students must participate in professional development opportunities which will sensitize them to these issues and equip them with positive intervention strategies on gender issues. The professional development of college faculty has generally been confined to attending professional meetings and conferences. This strand draws from the literature on K-12 professional development in order to establish similar opportunities for college faculty. The opportunities vary from general awareness seminars to on-going, in-depth workshops pertaining to gender equity in science, mathematics, and engineering.

Each of the institutions established a Professional Development Team (PDT), which consists of three to five people. This group worked together to establish three objectives for the strand:

1. To plan and implement general awareness seminars/workshops about gender equity on each campus,
2. To develop a list of resources found on each campus that can be used by faculty and teaching assistant professionals, and
3. To provide more comprehensive gender equity education, training, and evaluation for faculty and teaching assistants.

During the first year, each institute began to develop and implement general awareness seminars that were suitable for the climate found on each campus. Each campus also began to develop ties with other organizations which might be receptive to including gender equity as a permanent component of its activities. In addition, the strand leader and PDT developed and presented a professional development model based on the work of Drs. David and Myra Sadker. The strand leader modified the Sadkers' INTERSECT instrument that is used to code and analyze faculty interaction in the classroom. Dr. David Sadker provided training in its use. Graduate research assistants were hired and trained to observe faculty using the modified form.

During the second year, the strand leader addressed issues that arose as the strand was implemented on each campus and provided technical assistance relative to classroom coding. Professional development activities varied among the institutions. Some of the activities are highlighted below:

Clark Atlanta. A professional development subcommittee of the Internal Advisory Board was formed in February. This subcommittee has the charge of focusing on ways in which professional development activities can help facilitate curriculum reform at Clark Atlanta.

Georgia Southern. Three types of professional development activities were conducted: 1) general awareness presentation, 2) a series of six two-hour professional workshops for 17 faculty, and 3) workshops for K-12 schools in the district where preservice teachers are placed. The general awareness presentation were conducted throughout the year to a variety of audiences, including New Faculty Orientation, the College of Education Advisory Council, the College of Science and Technology Chair's meeting, the local AAUW chapter, and others.

Seventeen Georgia Southern faculty participated in a series of six two-hour workshops. Sample activities include: analyses of societal expectations of women that affect science and mathematics achievement; analyses of textbooks, syllabi, and course materials for gender bias; and discussion of books related to gender equity. In addition, Dr. Wolfe and Ms. Fischer conducted workshops for Stilson Elementary faculty. During the two-hour monthly workshops for 35-40 teachers, the leaders provided an orientation to gender equity issues and research, established a web page, and led discussion about gender equity teaching strategies.

Georgia Tech. The Office of the President provided a \$20,000 stipend for gender equity workshops for all faculty and staff at Georgia Tech. During the summer, the Gender Awareness Workshop Implementation Task Force developed the format for a 2½ hour workshop titled "Gender Equity In and Out of the Classroom" to be presented to all faculty and staff. Dr. David Sadker then conducted a two-day Gender Equity workshop during September to train approximately 30 faculty and staff facilitators. The first workshop was attended by 37 Deans, School Chairs, and Program Directors. Thirty-six other workshops were conducted that included approximately 800 faculty and staff. The workshops initiated active discussion about gender equity issues on campus. A similar workshop will be mandated for new faculty each year.

University of Georgia. During the second year, Dr. David Jackson conducted an informal gender equity seminar with two graduate teaching assistants and a Chemistry professor who teach the required science content and pedagogy sequence. The seminars met weekly during the fall quarter and monthly during the remainder of the year. Dr. Denise Mewborn and Ms. Debbie Gober conducted a presentation on gender equity in SEM and the InGEAR project during a Women's Studies Luncheon. Dr. Mewborn worked with her PDT to institutionalize the workshops into already existing avenues at the university.

Georgia State. General awareness workshops were conducted during the first year of the grant. However, the primary activity was the coding and analysis of faculty interaction in the classroom, using a modified version of the Sadkers' INTERSECT coding instrument. Graduate research

assistants were trained as coders and analyzed the classroom interaction of 20 faculty over the two years. Faculty were observed four times with a debriefing in between each observation. Strategies on improving the interactions were discussed at the debriefings. The Georgia State team also worked with the Center for Teaching and Learning to institutionalize the workshops. In addition, many workshops in the community were conducted and help was given to the institutions.

Tool Kit Strand

The tool kit strand leader is Dr. Denise Mewborn at the University of Georgia. The two objectives of the strand are:

1. To compile materials, strategies, research, and other resources related to gender equity in SEM based on the input of Education and Arts and Science faculty, and
2. To disseminate these resources to educators and other practitioners/professional through a technologically rich format.

The UGA Leadership team with the input from all the institutions identified a range of resources—including World Wide Web sites, books and journal, organizations, camps, and classroom activities—pertaining to gender equity in SEM. Resource searches were conducted from educational theory, educational pedagogy, and Women's Studies perspectives, and references were solicited from the Management Team members of other institutions. Resource references were categorized and posted on the InGEAR tool kit web site, along with abstracts, contact information, and hyperlinks to related web sites, when available.

The tool kit web site was developed in consultation with the University of Georgia Center for Educational Technology. Feedback from the participating institutions helped with the location and screening of material. The web site will undergo major revisions this summer due to input from the National Advisory Board. UGA is currently looking for ways to keep the tool kit updated when the NSF funds end. The areas now on the web site are:

1. Resources and Bibliographies
 - A. Resources for teacher educators
 - B. Resources for parents
 - C. Resources for teachers and counselors
 - D. Videotapes
 - E. Organizations that address gender equity
 - F. World wide web sites that address gender equity
 - G. Gender-related electronic forums

II. Programs for Girls and Women

III. Teaching Strategies

- A. Sample syllabi
- B. Suggestions for expanding awareness of gender roles
- C. Creating gender equity in your teaching
- D. Creating gender equity in science classrooms

IV. College Courses

V. Women's Participation

Curriculum Framework Strand

The curriculum framework strand leader is Dr. Ruby Thompson from Clark Atlanta. The goal of the strand is to infuse gender equity issues into all aspects of SEM education programs as a culmination of self-study, professional development, and tool kit resources. The strand leader developed a draft curriculum framework that includes goals, objectives, enabling activities, and implementation strategies for core, pedagogy, and assessment courses. The curriculum infusion strategies outlined include commitment, curriculum development, staff development, and evaluation components.

The rationale for infusing gender equity concepts and strategies into preservice teacher education is found in Myra and David Sadker's mandate for transforming our educational institutions to promote full participation of female students (1994). Recent research studies on the disproportionately low participation of females in science and mathematics majors and careers, and on the status of women in leadership roles in business and industry also highlight the need for change. The AAUW's continuing research on issues relating to girls and education shows that "teachers can be particularly effective in helping to bring about change" to address the problem of gender bias within our society.

At issue is how to most effectively design and implement a program which will address this problem through intervention at a level that promises a far-reaching and lasting impact. Such an intervention must complement the existing curriculum without adding undue coursework or experiences that burden student and teacher. In essence, such an intervention must be obvious but unobtrusive—building on and linking with concepts and content already in place, specifically the multicultural concepts. Multicultural education, a key component in teacher education programs, will serve as the organizing element for gender equity. Not only will there be a linkage with the respective program's multicultural education thrust and philosophy, the framework will be interpreted within the cultural context of the host program.

Finally, the intervention should be adaptable so that it adheres to the host curriculum with minimum distraction. The design should allow for incremental implementation with each phase giving impetus to the next. The purpose is to prepare preservice teachers to change the way they accommodate girls in the classroom in order to effect equal access for Georgia's girls and boys to quality SEM education.

Video

The InGEAR Advisory Council last year recommended that the project produce a gender equity video aimed at the general community and, more specifically, at the parents of middle and elementary school students. That recommendation led to the InGEAR Gender Equity Video Project, also tentatively titled *My Family Made My School Better! How To Make Your Child's Classroom Learner-Friendly*.

The goal of this project is to produce a 20-30 minute video program with parents as the target. Georgia Public Television is interested in broadcasting this program as part of an hour long interactive/call-in program. The video will focus on the importance of mathematics and science in all students' lives, but particularly for women. It will explore ways of looking at the learning experiences which girls encounter both in and out of the classroom and how these impact women's knowledge, skills, attitudes, and opportunities. Ultimately, it will provide parents with strategies for getting involved in their children's schools to promote the most gender equitable learning environment, particularly in mathematics and science. The script and production schedule are being developed and should be completed by September 1, 1997. Actual video production will begin in the fall of 1997.

The video will be divided into three segments. The purpose of segment one is to describe 1) the importance of mathematics and science for preparation for life in the 21st century and 2) the current trends of female participation in the mathematical and scientific education process and workforce. This section will be designed to capture the attention of a wide audience. The purpose of segment two is to identify reasons given for lower female participation in mathematical and scientific higher education and careers. This section will not be so thick with statistics that it becomes boring, rather it will use everyday examples of the lower participation of females. Segment three will suggest ways in which viewers can attempt to bring about changes in these trends. This section is the most important because it will empower the viewers to get involved in productive ways of helping to create more equitable environments for all children.

The video will be able to be used as a complete program as well as each segment standing alone. The projected method for the first airing is to have an interactive audience between each segment. This would allow for viewers to call in and comment to an expert panel about the section just viewed.

Table 1. WWW addresses of collaborating institutions

University of Georgia	www.coe.uga.edu/ingear
Georgia Tech	www.ceismc.gatech.edu/ingear.htm
Georgia Southern University	www.gasou.edu/aix2/ingear/
Georgia State University	www.gsu.edu/~wwwing/

Table 2. Characteristics of participating universities

Georgia Tech, Atlanta, GA

Georgia Tech is the state system engineering institution and sponsors a joint teacher preparation program with Georgia State. Georgia Tech is a residential institution with an enrollment of 12,985, fall of 1996.

Clark Atlanta, Atlanta, GA

Clark Atlanta is a private Historically Black College and University that sponsors undergraduate and graduate teacher preparation programs. Clark Atlanta is a residential institution with an enrollment of 5,798, fall of 1996.

Georgia Southern, Statesboro, GA

Georgia Southern is a comprehensive regional university affiliated with the state system that sponsors undergraduate and graduate teacher preparation programs. Georgia Southern is a residential institution with an enrollment of 13,417, fall of 1996.

Georgia State, Atlanta, GA

Georgia State is a comprehensive university affiliated with the state system that sponsors undergraduate and graduate teacher preparation programs. Georgia State is a non-residential institution with an enrollment of 23,410, fall of 1996.

University of Georgia, Athens, GA

The University of Georgia is a flagship institution with the state system that sponsors undergraduate and graduate teacher preparation programs. The University of Georgia is a residential institution with an enrollment of 29,404, fall of 1996.

InGEAR Advisory Council

Howard Adams	Director, GEM, National Institute on Mentoring
Cherry Brewton	Associate Professor, Early Childhood, Georgia Southern University
Patricia Campbell	Consultant, Campbell-Kibler Associates
Ishmael Childs	School Improvement Specialist, State Department of Education
Mary DeLong	Director of Laboratories, Emory University
Lynn Eubanks	Associate Director of Development, The Carter Center
Mary Frank Fox	Professor, History, Technology & Society, Georgia Tech
Carolyn Garfein	Vice President, Marketing Workshop, Inc.
Anne Harper	Board Member, Atlanta Public Schools
Laurie Hart	Associate Professor, Mathematics Education, The University of Georgia
Jack Hill	Chair, Higher Education Committee, Georgia State Senate
Julie Keeton	Director, Community Affairs, Technology Park
Jan Kettlewell	Assistant Vice Chancellor, Georgia Board of Regents
Nancy Kreinberg	Consultant, American Association for the Advancement of Science
Shirley Malcom	Head, Education & Human Resources, AAAS
Tom Redmon	Executive Director, Southern Association of Independent Schools
Donald Robertson	Headmaster, The Walker School
Catherine Ross	Professor, Architecture, Georgia Tech
Sue Rosser	Professor/Director, Center For Women's Studies and Gender Research, University of Florida
David Sadker	Professor, Education, American University
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Karen Schultz	Associate Dean, College of Education, Georgia State University
Alice Snead	Chair, Public Policy, AAUW-Georgia
Jimmy L. Solomon	Dean, College of Science and Technology, Georgia Southern University
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Project Coordinator	Marion Usselman	Georgia Tech
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Raising Competent Girls: One Size Does Not Fit All

Sumru Erkut, Fern Marx, Jacqueline P. Fields, and Rachel Sing



Introduction

The study was designed to explore different components of girls' positive self-evaluations, that is, their views on what it means for a girl to like herself, among middle school students from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds. Our primary hypotheses were that liking one's self, as a young adolescent, can have different meanings depending on the social context of one's life and that the dimensions of one's self-esteem can be different among girls from different racial and ethnic groups.

Following Harter (1990), we view self-esteem as the evaluation of the self, influenced by both one's self-perceived competencies in important domains (from James, 1892) and feedback and support from significant others (from Cooley, 1902; Mead, 1934). We distinguish between evaluations of specific domains of competence on the one hand, and global self-evaluation on the other (see, Harter, 1990; Rosenberg, Schooler, Schoenbach, & Rosenberg, 1995). Unless otherwise specified, we use the terms self-esteem, self-worth, and positive self-regard interchangeably, referring to a global or overall sense of one's worth.

In recent years there has been much academic and popular interest in girls' self-esteem. Low self-esteem in girls has been associated with aspiring to less prestigious and lucrative careers and, in some cases, low academic achievement (AAUW, 1991), whereas high self-esteem has been associated with a desire to achieve (academically and in a career) and with confidence in one's ability to achieve (AAUW 1991; Baruch 1975).

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Gilligan and her colleagues (1992) view early adolescence as a "crossroads" for girls. They describe it as a time of crisis when girls become uncertain of, that is, uncertain about, what they know and what they can say in public. It is a time when girls confront new prescriptions about their responsibilities to themselves and to others, rules about knowledge and understanding that may be publicly expressed as opposed to knowledge based on their own experience and intuition (Brown & Gilligan 1992; Debold, Wilson & Malave 1993; Gilligan, Rogers & Noel 1992). Consequently, these researchers argue that girls lose confidence in themselves; they lose their voices. On the other hand, a number of researchers have not found a similar decline in self-esteem among girls and boys of color (see, Powell, 1985; Rosenberg & Simmons, 1972; Tashakkori, 1993; Taylor, 1976), while others have reported inconsistent findings with respect to the effects of race and gender on self-esteem (Martinez & Dukes, 1987; Tashakkori & Thompson, 1991; Wade, 1991).

It is not clear from existing literature whether the drop in self-esteem found by some researchers in early to middle adolescence among girls is an artifact of measurement that does not take into consideration adolescent girls' reluctance to boast, a reluctance to see themselves as separate from others, or their emerging cognitive abilities to accurately perceive the relative uncertainty of control over aspects of their lives. Also, it does appear doubtful that one general notion or measure of satisfaction with self could adequately capture the diverse underpinnings of self evaluations in different socio-cultural milieus and across different domains of competence.

In spite of the possibility that findings of lowered self-esteem during early adolescence is perhaps a result of both methodological problems and primarily confined to certain groups of girls, a virtual "cottage industry" has emerged decrying the gender gap in self-esteem and offering a variety of programs to ameliorate this situation (see Flansburg, 1991; Orenstein, 1994). Indeed, in 1987 the California state government set up a commission to boost self-esteem among its citizens to cure many "social ills." Today, one can rarely find a program designed to uplift "at-risk" youth that does not have a self-esteem component.

Methods

The research was designed to incorporate both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection among four racial/ethnic groups of girls in seventh- and eighth-grade. The racial and ethnic groups included in the study were Caucasian, African American, Latina, and Chinese American because they are the largest concentrations of racial and ethnic groups in the greater Boston area.

Sample

A total of 164 young women took part in the study. We have complete data available on 161 subjects (3 failed to complete the Harter scales satisfactorily). One-third of the respondents were in the eighth grade and two-thirds in the seventh grade. Young women who took part in the research were recruited primarily through their schools with the assistance of the school administration, guidance counselors, and bilingual education teachers and secondarily through community contacts. We applied for and were granted permission to collect data in six public school systems and one private school in the greater Boston area.

The sample included 33 African American, 46 Caucasian, 40 Chinese American, 33 Latina, and 11 girls from other race/ethnic groups. Due to the heterogeneity in the 'other' group, the comparative analyses were restricted to the four major racial/ethnic groups.

Because racial/ethnic groups are not evenly distributed geographically, racial/ethnic composition of the schools where these data were collected differed across schools. Consequently, our subsamples were not comparable with respect to a number of important demographic variables. The majority of the African American and Latina girls were from lower income inner-city neighborhoods. The majority of Caucasian girls were from middle-class suburbs and lower middle-class satellite cities in the greater Boston area. Most of the Chinese American girls were either from lower income inner-city neighborhoods or from a lower middle-class satellite city. Also, the majority of Latina and Chinese American girls were from recent immigrant families where English was not the primary language spoken at home.

Data Collection Instruments

Quantitative data. Quantitative data were collected by means of a questionnaire set which included three scales developed by Harter. These were the adolescent version of the Self-Perception Profile (1988), the accompanying scale for rating the importance of each domain, and the Social Support Scale (1985). The results discussed in this paper pertain to the Self-Perception Profile.

The Adolescent Self-Perception Profile is a 40-item scale that taps domain-specific judgment of competence in eight separate domains, each with adequate internal consistency coefficients (Chronbach's α .79 or higher) based on data from middle school students (Harter, 1988). Scholastic Competence (ζ = .81) measures an adolescent perception of her competence in doing class work, how smart or intelligent she feels in school. Social Acceptance (ζ = .81) taps an adolescent's perceptions of how well she is accepted by peers, and whether she feels popular. Athletic competence (ζ = .89) taps an adolescent's perception of her competence in sports and athletic activ-

ity. The subscale of Physical Appearance ($\zeta=.85$) measures an adolescent's happiness with her looks, body image, and perceptions of attractiveness. Romantic Appeal ($\zeta=.83$) examines an adolescent's perceptions that she is romantically attractive to those in whom she is romantically interested, whether or not she is dating the person she would like to be dating, and whether or not she feels that she is a fun and interesting person to date. Behavioral Conduct was in the process of development at the time of publication of the 1988 manual, hence it did not have an established internal consistency coefficient. It is intended to measure perceptions of individual behavior, such as whether an adolescent likes the way she behaves, does the right thing, acts the way she is supposed to, and avoids getting into trouble. The Close Friendships subscale ($\zeta=.79$) measures an adolescent's ability to make close friends with whom she can confide and share secrets. Finally, Global Self Worth ($\zeta=.80$) is a separate subscale which measures the overall global judgement of an adolescent's personal worth, instead of competence in specific domains. The subscale taps the extent to which an adolescent likes herself as a person, is happy with the way she is leading her life, and her general happiness. Given the grade level of our respondents—seventh and eighth graders—we omitted the eighth subscale, Job Competence, from the domains we measured.

Qualitative data. The qualitative data were gathered in one hour-long focus group interviews. A subset of the sample, 93 girls, participated in 20 groups which varied in size from two to nine. The groups were homogeneous with respect to the race/ethnicity of the girls and also the interviewer. Focus group discussions were prompted by the interviewer saying, "Think about a girl who likes herself, what is she like?" All discussions were tape recorded and transcribed. The transcribed interviews were content analyzed to reveal emergent themes.

Field testing questions for the focus group interview highlighted the difficulty of using terms such as "self-esteem," "competence," "self-worth," and "positive self-evaluations" with seventh- and eighth-grade students. The blank stares from the girls made it clear that we needed to employ plain English. With input from young women and our colleagues we settled on the words "a girl who likes herself" to capture the essence of positive self-evaluations.

Testing the phrase, "a girl who likes herself," in several groups revealed that girls did not readily talk about whether they liked themselves but they were quite voluble when it came to talking as "experts" on the topic. That is, each girl was reluctant (or unable) to talk about whether she liked herself, but had lots of opinions on the more general topic of liking one's self. Therefore, the focus group elicited girls' self-esteem ideology rather than their subjective evaluations of their own self worth.

Results

We have analyzed the results by race and ethnicity as one of the possible ways of conceptualizing diversity. The results of the racial/ethnic analyses are intended to be suggestive and illustrative, not definitive and not solely or even primarily attributable to race/ethnicity. This is because the four groups of girls in the study were not randomly selected and differed on relevant dimensions other than simply race and ethnicity.

Table 1 presents the mean scores for self perception domains for each racial/ethnic group. One-way analyses of variance revealed that the racial/ethnic group means were significantly different in each domain. The African American subsample had the most positive self evaluations, Chinese American girls had the least positive views. Latina and Caucasian girls fell in between the two extremes. The Global Self Worth scores followed the same pattern, with African American girls having the highest scores.

The racial/ethnic groups also differed in the areas which girls gave themselves the highest ratings. African American girls had high scores on the following domains of Self Perception: Social Acceptance ($\bar{m}=3.41$), Scholastic Competence ($m=3.20$), Physical Appearance ($\bar{m}=3.12$), and Romantic Appeal ($m=2.97$). Caucasian girls' ratings were the highest in the domains of Social Acceptance ($\bar{m}=3.06$), Behavioral Conduct ($\bar{m}=3.03$), and Close Friendship ($\bar{m}=2.99$). For Latina girls the highest self ratings were on the domain of Social Acceptance ($\bar{m}=2.96$). For Chinese American girls the domain on which they rated themselves the highest was Behavioral Conduct ($\bar{m}=2.82$).

Table 1 Internal Consistency (α) Scores for Domains of Self-Perception

	Harter's Sample B (99) ^a	African-American ($n = 33$)	Caucasian ($n = 46$)	Chinese-American ($n = 40$)	Puerto Rican ($n = 19$)
Domains of Self Perception					
Scholastic Competence	.81	.81	.80	.68	.52
Social Acceptance	.81	.74	.69	.59	.48
Athletic Competence	.89	.86	.90	.84	.43
Physical Appearance	.85	.78	.92	.84	.67
Behavioral Conduct	.78 ^b	.35	.80	.48	.63
Close Friendship	.79	.75	.78	.75	.57
Global Self Worth	.80	.79	.90	.72	.68

a Harter's Sample B is made up of 48 female and 51 male 8th graders, approximately 90% of whom are Caucasian (1988, p. 12).

b From Harter's Sample D, made up of 60 female and 63 male 9th graders, approximately 90% of whom are Caucasian (1988, p. 12).

An examination of the correlations in Table 2 reveals that, overall, Physical Appearance, Behavioral Conduct, and Scholastic Competence were the domains most closely associated with Global Self Worth in almost all racial/ethnic groups. However, there were also some noteworthy differences among correlations with Global Self Worth (Table 3). For African American girls the strongest correlation was with Scholastic Competence ($r=.75$) while for both Caucasian and Latina girls it was with Physical Appearance ($r=.82$ and $r=.75$, respectively). Among Chinese American girls Behavioral Conduct and Close Friendship were moderately related to Global Self Worth ($r=.55$ and $r=.54$, respectively).

Table 2 Racial/Ethnic Differences in Mean Self-Perception

	African-American M (n = 33)	Caucasian M (n = 46)	Chinese-American M (n = 40)	Puerto Rican M (n = 19)	F
Domains of Self Perception					
Scholastic Competence	3.20	2.97	2.67	2.54 ^a	6.26***
Social Acceptance	3.41	3.06	2.61 ^a	2.87 ^a	12.74***
Athletic Competence	2.72	2.77	2.11	2.33 ^a	5.69**
Physical Appearance	3.12	2.28	2.16	2.65	10.55***
Behavioral Conduct	2.83 ^a	3.03	2.82 ^a	2.38 ^a	5.55**
Close Friendship	3.13	3.36	2.91	3.08 ^a	3.00*
Global Self Worth	3.36	2.90	2.63	2.96	6.21***

* $p < .05$ one-tailed

** $p < .01$ " "

*** $p < .001$ " "

^a α scores less than .65

Table 3 Correlations of Domains of Self-Perception with Global Self Worth

	African-American (n = 33)	Caucasian (n = 46)	Chinese-American (n = 40)	Puerto Rican (n = 19)
Scholastic Competence	.75***	.37**	.28*	.01 ^a
Social Acceptance	.32*	.28*	.13 ^a	.11 ^a
Athletic Competence	.47**	.22	.18	.06 ^a
Physical Appearance	.47**	.82***	.30*	.73***
Behavioral Conduct	.32 ^a	.58***	.55*** ^a	.68*** ^a
Close Friendship	-.08	.17	.42**	-.30 ^a

* $p < .05$ one-tailed

** $p < .01$ " "

*** $p < .001$ " "

^a α scores less than .65

The analyses of qualitative data from the focus group interviews generally supported the results of the quantitative analyses, with some exceptions (for a more detailed discussion of the focus group outcomes, see Erkut & Marx, 1995). Among African American girls, a girl who likes herself was described primarily in terms of her physical appearance/attractiveness and interpersonal qualities, which include being a good friend, having friends, giving and getting respect, being well-behaved and nice. Additionally, they talked about having "space" from parental protectiveness. There was one major difference between quantitative and qualitative result. African American girls' focus group discussions did not emphasize scholastic achievement as a significant part of the profile of a girl who likes herself. On the other hand, scholastic achievement scores emerged as the most powerful predictor of African American girls' global self worth ratings.

Among Caucasian respondents, a girl who likes herself was described in terms of two primary themes: (1) feelings of confidence and pride and (2) a strong sense of individuality, (e.g., she would not care if others found her pretty or ugly because she would be immune to peer pressure) both of these suggest that Caucasian respondents connected liking one's self to being one's own person. Positive interpersonal qualities, which include having good friends, how well she treats others and is treated by them were also strong themes.

The main themes that emerged from focus group interviews with Chinese American respondents described a girl who likes herself as "her own person," meaning immune to criticism, defiant, does what she believes is right, and is able to take care of herself. Paradoxically, this quest for independence was closely related to having the freedom to form close connections with friends, to have one's own thoughts, and space for one's own feelings. Thus, the Chinese respondents' view of a girl who likes herself was one who is well-behaved and independent enough to be able to take care of herself as well as her friends.

Among Latinas, a girl who likes herself was described primarily in terms of social/interpersonal qualities, that is, she is popular, has lots of friends, and gets along well with people. A strong second theme was being well-behaved and staying out of trouble.

Discussion

The results point to three noteworthy findings. The first is that girls from differing racial/ethnic groups use different standards to judge one's self worth. The qualitative data from focus group discussions, where girls were asked to take the "expert" position, was informative about the self-

esteem ideology of girls from different racial/ethnic groups. Because the focus groups were homogeneous with respect to race/ethnicity and led by a same-race/ethnicity facilitator, values particular to their racial/ethnic subculture were likely salient in the discussions. Therefore, the focus group data yielded information about a particular racial/ethnic group of girls' perceptions of what a girl who likes herself ought to be like. In other words, we obtained information on the *standards* the girls use for evaluating themselves. The results show that there are some similarities in these standards; for example, all girls talked about the importance of having friends and being well-behaved. However, even these general themes took on different meaning in the discussions. Moreover, there were also notable differences. We interpret these differences in terms of the social and physical context of the girls' lives.

For example, Caucasian girls, who in our sample lived in the relative safety of middle-class suburbs or lower-middle-class satellite cities, placed a high emphasis on independence, being one's own person, and not bowing to peer pressure. In contrast, African American and Latina girls, who in our sample lived in lower-income urban environments, did not stress independence in the same way that Caucasian girls did. Instead, their comments suggested a keen awareness of the physical dangers which surrounded their urban existence. A girl who likes herself was described by African American and Latina girls as a nice girl who stays out of trouble but is also able to fight to defend herself if needed. The "space" African American girls wanted was not about being one's own person. It was freedom from being constantly watched and monitored by their parents due to parents' concern for their safety.

Chinese American girls also talked about wanting "space." Yet the context and the meaning was, again, different. For African American girls, it was a quest for their parents to trust them and to let up on controls, so that they could have more freedom and be more on their own. For Chinese American girls, wanting space appeared to be a quest for freedom to *connect*, to connect with peers and friends outside of their family circles. That is, Chinese American girls did not want to be left alone by their parents to be independent. Rather, they wanted the freedom to form connections outside the family.

We have interpreted Chinese American girls' quest for "space" in the context of their acculturation struggles. Many in our sample were recent immigrants, and English was not the first language spoken in most of these girls' homes. It appears that the Chinese American girls experienced a discontinuity between home and the outside world and felt that, as much as they respected their parents and accepted and appreciated parental values, they needed to find role models and sources of support outside of the family to be able to learn to make their way in mainstream

American culture. The "space" they sought was permission to make connections with friends and peers who *can* teach them about how things are done in U.S. mainstream culture.

The particular insular quality of immigrant Chinese family life may play a role in the way Chinese American girls' acculturation struggles have led them to seek connections outside the family. Latina girls in the sample, many of whom were also recent immigrants, shared the acculturation challenges with the Chinese American girls. However, the family configuration of Hispanic culture may be less insular and family boundaries seem to be more permeable. Therefore, a girl wanting to learn about mainstream American culture can turn to others to show her the way without feeling like she is going completely outside the family. Indeed, the basic theme which emerged from discussions with Latina girls is the importance of social connections enabling a girl to like herself. Latina girls did not appear to make distinctions between the importance of connections to family or friends. It may be that the looser boundaries around Hispanic families makes it possible for girls to connect with friends and peers to learn about mainstream society without becoming conscious of stepping outside the family.

The second noteworthy finding is derived from the quantitative data, which shows that each racial/ethnic group of girls presents a different profile of self-perceived strengths on Harter's domains of competency. African American girls rate themselves as highly competent—average ratings of 3.41 and above on a four-point scale—in the domains of Social Acceptance, Scholastic Competence, and Physical Appearance. They also have the highest Global Self-Worth ratings of all racial/ethnic groups (3.36 on a four-point scale). While high global self-esteem was found among African American girls in the 1991 AAUW sponsored survey, the same study had shown African American girls to lag in confidence in their scholastic abilities, which our research contradicts.

Caucasian girls gave themselves high ratings on the Social Acceptance, Behavioral Conduct, and Close Friendship domains. This pattern of findings suggests that they perceived themselves to be well-liked by their peers and close friends and that they saw themselves as well-behaved. In spite of this, their Global Self Worth ratings were only moderately high, 2.90 on a four-point scale. It may be that their perceived strengths in being well-liked, good girls was diminished by the relatively low ratings they gave themselves in Physical Appearance and Romantic Appeal (2.28 and 2.31, respectively).

Chinese American girls gave themselves lower ratings on most of the seven domains compared to other groups and, not surprisingly, also had the lowest Global Self Worth scores of all. Behavioral Conduct was the domain on which they rated themselves the highest, but even that was only

2.82 out of four. Relative to the other groups, Chinese American girls did not see themselves as measuring up to the standards to which they aspire.

Latina girls' ratings on different domains were pretty even across domains and did not show any particular area of strength. Their highest ratings were on Social Acceptance (2.96) suggesting that they saw themselves as moderately well-liked. Even though they did not see themselves as particularly strong on any one domain, their average Global self-esteem was comparable to that of Caucasian girls' (3.02) who, by contrast, had rated themselves quite highly on several domains. This suggests that social acceptance may be sufficient for many Latina girls to see themselves in a generally positive light.

The third noteworthy finding is that being physically attractive is a source of conflict for Caucasian girls. In their focus group discussion Caucasian girls were vehement in their insistence on how a girl who likes herself would not bow to peer pressure in terms of how she looks and dresses. Yet, their ratings on the Physical Appearance domain was very highly correlated with Global self-esteem which suggests that for Caucasian girls Global Self Worth is almost the same thing as perceiving one's self as physically appealing. This contradiction points to a strong ambivalence about the role of being physically attractive among Caucasian girls. In contrast, African American and, to a lesser extent, Latina girls are consistent and show no ambivalence or contradiction in their attitude toward being attractive. They stressed the importance of being attractive in their discussions, generally gave themselves high ratings on Physical Attractiveness, and girls who rated themselves highly on this domain tended to have high Global Self Worth scores.

Chinese American girls were also consistent in their attitudes toward physical attractiveness. They did not bring it up as part of the discussion of a girl who likes herself, they did not rate themselves highly on this domain, nor did their scores on Physical Appearance correlate strongly with Global Self Worth.

Our findings on Caucasian girls' ambivalence about physical attractiveness suggests that majority culture's standards of physical beauty may be most undermining of Caucasian girls' evaluations of their worth. As Wade (1991) points out, media images of feminine beauty ideals are mostly white models in the U.S., hence most relevant to Caucasian's girls' self-evaluations. Consequently, Caucasian girls' susceptibility to seeing themselves as relatively unattractive is also a function of the social context of their lives.

Conclusions

The three noteworthy findings of this research are that girls from different racial and ethnic groups use different standards to judge self worth, girls from different racial and ethnic groups view themselves as having different strengths, and Caucasian girls have the most conflicted attitudes toward the role played by physical attractiveness in determining one's self worth. The differences we have highlighted in the ways girls from diverse social backgrounds perceive what it means to like one's self underscore the important role played by contextual variables. In this study, we have found that not only race/ethnicity, but also the level of danger in the neighborhood, the nature of family boundaries, recency of immigration and the majority media's images of feminine beauty all play a role in the composition of self-evaluations. The general conclusion to be drawn from these findings is that an understanding of the social forces a girl faces is essential for an understanding of what that particular girl needs in order to like herself.

Because our sub-samples were relatively small and not comparable with respect to many relevant variables such as family composition, social class, and urbanization of residence, the pattern of findings discussed cannot be solely or primarily attributed to racial/ethnic differences. We recommend that future research employ larger representative samples to more accurately assess of the meaning and determinants of middle school-aged girls' positive self-evaluations.

We believe documenting the diversity in girls' conceptions of positive self regard has significant consequences for understanding girls from diverse backgrounds because what may appear on the surface to be similar phenomena may, on closer inspection, reveal subtle but important differences (see Erkut, Fields, Sing, & Marx, 1996). Therefore, it is important for human service professionals to arrive at a more differentiated understanding of the diversity in girls' lives and subsequent conceptions of positive self regard because one size does not fit all.

One of the practical outcomes of a clearer theoretical understanding of the underpinnings of self evaluations among adolescent girls will be a rethinking of current prevention and intervention programs for bolstering girls' self-esteem. It may well be that, when measured using context-sensitive definitions and instruments, many girls from non-white, non-middle-class backgrounds already have an adequate level of self-esteem and may not benefit from intervention programs designed to for white middle-class girls. Also, to the extent that there are multiple configurations of self-esteem in diverse groups, programs which work from a single notion of what it means to like one's self may be, in fact, ineffective for girls from different backgrounds. Any program designed to bolster self-esteem will have to make explicit what is considered competence for its

target population. Finally, to the extent that self-esteem is both global and also has specific domains, interventions can be designed to be specific to domains of interest.

This has several implications for future research on girl's self-esteem. First, it is necessary to tease out the separate effects of such demographic variables as race/ethnicity, SES, immigration, and urbanization of residence; in addition to exploring the role played by sexual orientation, being physically and/or mentally challenged, and family composition. Secondly, longitudinal studies are needed to document the relative stability or instability of global self-worth throughout adolescence, as well as potential variability in which domains are the sources of strength for which groups of girls during early, middle, and late adolescence. Finally, future research should investigate the role of behavioral conduct in greater detail. This study found that being a good girl is an important component of self-esteem among most girls. Whether this is a manifestation of girls' internalization of a passive-submissive stereotype of femininity or girls' attempts to establish themselves as trustworthy so that they can be granted more freedom and independence should be explored.

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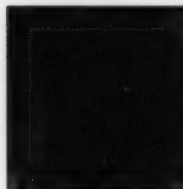
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"No Wonder I Don't Know Who I Am!": Messages From Peers, Parents, and the Media as Perceived by Bright Adolescent Females

Sally Wherry



Introduction

Our culture is filled with contradictory expectations for young women. The gender socialization process begins during infancy and involves almost every aspect of experience (Rubin, 1979). An early gender gap develops as boys are encouraged to be more competitive while girls are praised for their cooperative efforts (Tannen, 1990). Women are socialized to seek approval from parents and peers from earliest childhood (Freedman, 1986). During their early elementary school years, females are more oblivious to cultural stereotypes and messages, but the onset of adolescence opens their eyes (Gilligan, 1982). Biological and social changes increase (Buescher, 1986), and so does a young woman's sensitivity to external judgments and expectations. Self-esteem drops during the middle school years (Backes, 1994; AAUW Report, 1992) as females learn to watch themselves being watched by others.

Recent studies (Sadker & Sadker, 1994; AAUW Report, 1992) have forced educational institutions to take a hard look at how teachers and curriculum address the issue of gender fairness. This study is concerned with the perceived effects of cultural and societal factors on academic achievement, and the lack of awareness of and ensuing absence of discussion about the effect of "gender politics" on young female performance. Are adolescent girls conscious of the choice they are forced to make between social acceptance and academic excellence? After years of cultural preconditioning to be dependent, "nice" (Brown & Gilligan, 1992), and say only the "right answer" (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986), how do bright adolescent females respond to competitive academic situations that demand they take the risk of being "wrong"?

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Objectives

This study sought to identify messages and stereotypes about academic excellence that bright adolescent girls may overtly or implicitly receive from home, peers, and the media. Illuminating these external factors would enhance the awareness of both educational professionals and parents about the internal difficulties faced by adolescent females. Focusing on females with strong academic potential highlights the impact of positive and negative messages. If a population that should be receiving support and encouragement to academically achieve is not, it is vital to learn not only what non-supportive messages they're receiving, but also who or what is sending them.

A second objective was to identify environments that young girls perceive as either supportive or antagonistic to academic assertiveness. Determining perceived obstacles is essential to designing systems, approaches, and programs that help females reach their academic potential. A third objective was to discover similarities and differences among the perceptions and responses of talented young females as they describe their social and academic cultures and react to public academic challenges.

Methods and Procedures

In order to understand the impact of peer group, media, and parental messages on the academic performance of adolescent females, the logical option was to ask the girls themselves. A qualitative rather than quantitative approach allowed a better awareness of experiences from an individual's point of view. A combination of three individual interviews, a group interview, videotaped classroom observations, parent surveys, and teacher surveys were used in an effort to illuminate student perceptions of reality.

Growth and change are often dramatic during the junior high years; therefore, participants were chosen from all three grade levels (7th, 8th, and 9th grade) to provide insight into perceptions as girls progress through their peak adolescent years. The participants were nominated by classroom teachers and/or guidance counselors. They were selected for this study based on the following criteria:

1. The nominee demonstrated high academic potential based on a verbal or non-verbal standard score of 125 or above on a standardized intelligence test (Cognitive Abilities Test and/or Weschler Intelligence Scale for Children).
2. The nominee demonstrated high academic achievement in the classroom through membership in an accelerated or enriched class and attainment of "Honor Roll" level grades.

3. Variability among nominees was addressed through selection of girls exhibiting different areas of talent or strength. All participants had earned awards or recognition outside the regular school setting. Specific talent areas represented included science, math, creative writing, athletics, music, art, and drama. Both ends of the social spectrum, from loner to leader, were also represented.

Data collection included three separate semi-structured, individual interviews with all participants. An interview guide was used to ensure that basically the same information was obtained from each girl. Parent and teacher questionnaires were also utilized. Information concerning expectations, experiences, support systems, and perceptions of performance was sought. Classroom observations were videotaped. The performance and reactions of each girl in a classroom setting were compared to individual interview responses. Finally, a group interview was held following the individual interviews. All the participants joined in a focus group session with the underlying intent to validate or replicate views stated individually as well as to note the effect of peer involvement on previous responses.

Findings and Conclusions

Careful analysis of the data revealed that parents, peers, and the media all had a powerful effect on the academic performance of the bright adolescent females in this study, regardless of the participants' age, area of talent, racial background, or family composition. The following findings were supported:

Parents send mixed messages about their expectations for their daughters, which appear to limit their children's academic achievement.

Participants believed their parents wanted them to behave appropriately and to get good grades. They also sensed it was important for them to be kind, sensitive, and supportive of others. The girls perceived, however, that their brothers were encouraged to develop specific talents for a certain future career. Brothers were not expected to perform nurturing tasks (such as child care). Families often discussed college for their daughters in terms of finding a career to "support yourself in case you have to," or as a place to meet someone who would support them. Girls from single parent homes, however, perceived their parents expected them to be self-supporting.

The messages learned at home to "be nice" and "follow the rules" are reinforced by the culture in the classroom.

"Boys will be boys" was a frequently repeated phrase. The girls characterized their male classmates as rude, loud, and physically active. They reported that girls are more likely to be quiet and

turn their homework in on time. They perceived that girls get better grades, but boys control the classroom environment. A "culture of humility" develops as the participants mentioned time after time that it was unacceptable for girls to brag or be openly proud of their accomplishments; consequently, although they were at the top of their class, it was best to achieve in silence. Weaknesses were easier and more acceptable to share with others than were strengths.

Teachers described most of the girls in this study as bright but passive classroom participants. Those girls that did feel comfortable speaking out were those recognized by others as "popular" or, in the case of one, had outwardly accepted her loner status.

In order to be accepted by their peers, bright girls play down or hide their intelligence and talent.

One of the most difficult questions for the girls to answer was, "If you could be the smartest or the most popular girl in the school, which would you choose?" They knew the desirable response (for adult listeners) was to do well in school, but the lure of popularity was overwhelming. They also indicated that, according to junior high mores, anyone who does well in school or puts in extra time studying at home must not have a social life. They feared being labeled a "nerd" and have internalized that achievements must appear effortless. Many spoke wistfully of their elementary school years, where there were fewer social expectations and they were freer to pursue individual interests.

Speaking out in a co-educational setting is considered socially risky for young adolescent females.

The majority of the participants' teachers noted the girls rarely raised their hands. When questioned about this behavior during the individual interviews, the girls claimed they feared saying something foolish or being ridiculed by other students. Not only did they want to avoid put-downs and teasing from the boys, but they also did not want to appear too smart. Several stated that boys do not like smart girls.

Both winning and losing in academic competitions are unacceptable to bright adolescent females; therefore, most choose not to compete.

All but one of the participants claimed that academic competitions were not as appealing in junior high as they were in elementary school. Not only were they nervous and fearful of mistakes in front of a group, which could mar the illusion of perfection, but they also feared successful performance because it increased expectations and pressure. They did not want to be the "token female," and competing to be "best" seems to set them apart, running counter to the "be nice" and "care for others" messages they've received.

Athletic competitions, on the other hand, were more socially acceptable. Team sports involved a group effort. Victories could be shared without bragging, and team membership conferred a sense of belonging.

Adolescent girls do not support each other in intellectual endeavors.

When asked to identify what had the greatest effect on their lives, most of the participants valued their friends as having the most influence. All the girls believed "trust" to be the most important quality in a friend; intellectual competence was not mentioned. They believed that girls their age valued appearance and "acting like others" more than independent thinking.

The media reinforces the message that appearance counts more than ability.

All the participants concurred that the successful or desirable female image portrayed in the media (television, movies, magazines, and advertising) is primarily thin and beautiful. Sensitive to the judgments of others, bright girls have difficulty ignoring the continual barrage of information telling them what they should look like. None of the participants, although the majority of them receive the daily newspaper at home, reads the front page section. They admitted to doing so only if required for an assignment or if forced by a parent. They did read the "Variety" and "Entertainment" sections or the comics.

During the focus group session, there was a great deal of conversation about how manipulative and demeaning ads and articles in teenage magazines are. Although they criticized the countless make-up ads, the overly-thin models, and the quizzes and surveys that "tell you how you don't measure up so you'll want to buy something," several of the girls asked if they could take the magazines home at the close of the session. They know they're being manipulated, but they're buying the message anyway.

Popular culture offers few positive adolescent female role models of achievement

The participants characterized the adolescent female characters currently on television as incompetent, vain, and conniving boy-chasers.

Movies did not fare much better, and most admitted to liking the female characters in books they'd read during elementary school, such as Nancy Drew or Dorothy in the *Wizard of Oz*, but not relating much to the female characters in young adult literature. Only the African-American girls could name a positive female role model, the rest claimed there were no women in the public eye they admired or would like to emulate.

Discussion

The results of this study indicated the "best and the brightest" adolescent females do not feel comfortable asserting themselves in an academic setting. They are confused about who they are and what they want. Previous studies have placed the blame for the lack of achievement among bright adolescent females on the the educational system, with a gender-biased curriculum and teaching strategies that subconsciously favor boys. The findings of this study did not dispute that curriculum may need to be more gender-balanced, nor did it disprove the notion that teachers pay a disproportionate amount of attention to males as compared to females in their classrooms. It did indicate, however, the problem of gender bias may be more deeply ingrained and culturally pervasive. The educational system that once mirrored cultural views now faces a difficult task of altering a deeply-rooted social belief system.

The participants in this study confirmed the power and the influence of messages and expectations transmitted by parents, peers, and the media. In order to realize their potential and personal goals, young women need to recognize both the external and the internal barriers to their success. Parents, the school environment, and the culture at large must be made aware of not only the messages they are sending, but also of the power of these messages to negatively impact the self esteem and individual academic achievement of young women.

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Girls Can and Girls Do!: The Academic Success of Girls at a Residential Mathematics and Science Academy

Donna L. Fleming and Craig Henderson



One approach to meeting the academic needs of very bright adolescents is to allow them to leave high school and enroll as college students. At the Texas Academy of Mathematics and Science (TAMS), this educational approach is implemented through a rigorous two-year math and science curriculum which provides full college credit for qualified students after their 10th grade year in high school. The residential program is located on the campus of the University of North Texas. Students take a required college level curriculum that includes calculus, biology, physics, chemistry, history, English and political science. Approximately 200 students are admitted each year to the program. Admission is competitive and is based on SAT scores, high school GPA, school and community activities, demonstrated interest in math and science, scores on diagnostic math tests, teacher recommendations and personal interview. Since the Academy opened its doors in 1988, over 1,000 students have graduated and continued their academic careers. Approximately 45 percent of these students have been girls.

Studies comparing the mathematical ability and achievement of males and females have consistently shown that sex differences do exist and that they favor males. For example, males consistently outscore females on the Scholastic Aptitude Test-Mathematics subtest (SAT-M), (Benbow, 1988) and more frequently choose college majors and careers in mathematics and science (Heller & Ziegler, 1996.) Even among highly talented students, boys as a group score higher than girls on the SAT-M. Also, previous research with intellectually talented students has indicated that girls tend to earn higher grades than boys, but boys take more semesters of high school science, particularly physics. One result of these trends has been that even among the brightest and most tal-

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ented students, girls have a significantly lower participation rate in the fields of mathematics, engineering and physics (Benbow & Minor, 1986).

Are there similar patterns in SAT-M, grades and college major selection for girls who are admitted to an accelerated mathematics and science program such as TAMS? Would this pattern of higher grades for girls continue when boys and girls take the same required mathematics and science curriculum? In addition, the significantly lower participation rates of women in the fields of mathematics, engineering and physics brings up concerns that need to be addressed if these gaps are to be closed. Do girls who graduate from a mathematics and science academy select those college majors at the same rate as the boys?

In this study, an additional research question focused on self-concept. Specifically, we questioned whether previous research regarding lower self-concept for females would apply to this group of high-achieving, math and science-oriented students.

To answer the above questions, a study was conducted with the 1997 graduating class of the Texas Academy of Mathematics and Science. We wanted to determine if males and females differed significantly in SAT scores, math diagnostic tests, self-concept, grade point averages and college major choices.

Method

Subjects

Subjects were 178 students who were enrolled in the fall semester of 1995, 103 males and 75 females. These students graduated in the spring semester of 1997. The average age of the students when they enrolled at TAMS was 15.68, and the range of ages was 14 to 17. Fifty-two percent of the students were Caucasian, 28% were Asian, 14% were Hispanic, 3% were African American, and 3% were from other ethnic groups. Fifty percent of the male students reported being the oldest child, 22% reported being middle children, 18% reported being the youngest, and 10% reported being the only child. Of the females, 51% were the oldest child, 19% were middle children, 23% were the youngest, and 8% were the only child. Seventy-four percent of the males and 77% of the females reported that their parents were married and living together. In terms of the educational level of the parents, the male students reported that 66% of their fathers had received at least a bachelor's degree, and 45% of their fathers had received either master's or doctoral degrees. They reported very similar percentages for the level of education of their mothers as well with 67% of the mothers of male students receiving at least a bachelor's degree and 32% receiving

advanced degrees. Similar to the males, the female students reported that 64% of their fathers had received at least a bachelor's degree, and 43% had received an advanced degree. The females also reported that 65% of their mothers had received at least a bachelor's degree, and 31% had received advanced degrees.

Instruments

The diagnostic math tests were administered to all applicants who were selected to be interviewed for admission to TAMS. These are standardized tests developed by the American High School Mathematics Association and are designed to determine content mastery of Algebra I and Algebra II. The Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (TSCS) and a demographic questionnaire were administered to all entering students during the fall orientation. The TSCS consists of 100 self-descriptive statements that the respondent uses to portray his or her own self-picture (Roid & Fitts, 1988). SAT scores were already part of the students' admission records.

Results

SAT Scores

A comparison of students' entry year SAT scores by gender is shown in Table 1. Males and females did not significantly differ in terms of their total SAT scores. However, males scored significantly higher on the SAT-M ($p < .001$). Since TAMS students often retake the SAT with the hopes of improving their scores and increasing their likelihood of scholarships and admissions to prestigious universities, SAT scores from the students' senior year at TAMS were also examined (Table 2). Results indicated that males scored higher on the total SAT ($p < .01$) as well as the math subtest ($p < .01$).

Table 1. SAT Mean Scores, Class of 1997

	Male	Female	Difference
Total SAT	1226	1203	23 (Male)
Math SAT	681	645	36 (Male)
Verbal SAT	544	558	14 (Female)

Table 2. Senior Mean SAT, Class of 1997

	Male	Female	Difference
Total SAT	1380	1349	31 (Male)
Math SAT	727	695	32 (Male)
Verbal SAT	654	654	0

Math Diagnostic Tests

Male and female students were also compared on the standardized tests of Algebra I and Algebra II knowledge which students complete as part of the TAMS admissions process. Although males outperformed females on the SAT-M, no significant differences existed between the males and females on the algebra tests (Table 3).

Table 3. Mean Scores, Standardized Algebra Tests, Class of 1997

	Male	Female
Algebra I	96.7	95.9
Algebra II	84.4	84.0

Self-Concept Score

In addition to academic variables, the male and female students were compared as to their levels of self-concept or self-esteem as measured by the TSCS. The genders scored very similarly to one another on this measure, with no significant differences existing between males and females for either the overall level of self-concept or the specific subscales. (Table 4, all scores are reported as T scores). When comparing the scores of TAMS students to the adolescents of the norming sample, the TAMS students scored in a range approximately equal to or above the adolescents in the sample.

Table 4. Tennessee Self-Concept Scale and Subscales^a

	Male	Female	Adolescent Norm Group
Overall Self-Concept	50	49	46
Physical	43	43	45
Moral	53	52	43
Personal	56	54	51
Family	48	46	44
Social	49	51	48
Identity	64	64	46
Self-Satisfaction	56	54	51
Behavior	45	44	42
Self-Criticism	64	64	52

^aScores are reported as T scores, M = 50, sd = 10.

Grade Point Average

Girls had a higher cumulative GPA than boys ($p < .01$) as shown in Table 5. This GPA included all courses taken for four semesters within the required curriculum and any electives. GPA means were then obtained for Calculus I and Physics. Girls had significantly higher grades in Calculus I ($p < .05$); however, this was not the case for the physics class where there was no difference between the boys' and girls' grades (see Table 6).

Table 5. Mean Cumulative GPAs, Class of 1997

	Male	Female
GPA	3.31	3.46

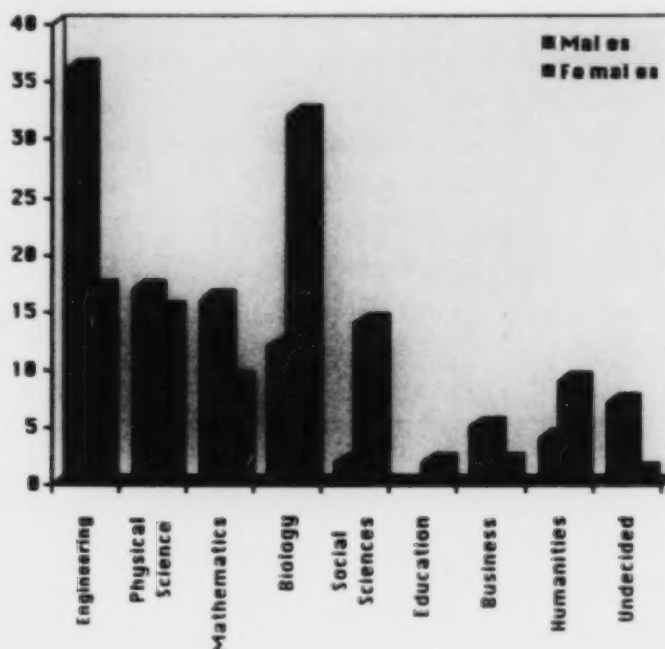
Table 6. Calculus I and Physics Mean GPAs

	Male	Female
Calculus I	3.22	3.58
Physics	3.05	2.97

College Major

College major choices were tallied in order to ascertain whether any differences existed between males and females (Figure 1). On the average, more males declared majors in engineering, and mathematical sciences (males 52%, females 26%) while more females declared majors in biological sciences, social sciences, and humanities (males 18%, females 55%). About the same percentages of males and females declared majors in the physical sciences (males 17%, females 15%). Marked gender differences were evident in the areas of engineering (males 36%, females 17%), biological sciences (males 12%, females 32%), and social sciences (males 2%, females 14%).

Figure 1 Declared College Majors by Gender



Discussion

When the academic performance of girls and boys at the Texas Academy of Mathematics and Science was examined comparatively, some interesting findings resulted. We see the same national trend in higher scores for boys on the math portion of the Scholastic Aptitude Test, both in their entry and outgoing test scores. However, girls have higher cumulative grade point averages after four semesters of the same required curriculum in which the boys were enrolled. Since the cumulative GPAs include courses which are not in mathematics and the sciences (English, history, political science), a required college-level calculus course was used as a comparison of mathematics performance for boys and girls. The result was that girls still had significantly higher grades.

Next, the calculus-based physics course grades were examined. There was not a significant difference in grades for this course. However, this is an important finding since previous studies have shown that boys consistently outperform girls in physics and technology starting in around the 8th to 10th grades (Heller & Ziegler, 1996). Demographic information for boys and girls was examined to see if the groups varied as to birth order, parents' marital status and parents' highest level of education. Similarities between the boys and girls on these aspects were quite evident.

For both genders, 50% of the students were first-born children and over 70% came from families in which the parents were married. Educational levels were high with over 60% of the parents having a bachelor's degree or above. Examination of self-concept scores also indicated similarity for both genders.

In examining the results of this study, it is important to emphasize that there are no modifications in the curriculum for girls. That is, the same courses are taken by both genders, and there has been no attempt to modify classroom format in either the lectures or the labs. In fact, the instructors of the calculus and physics classes are predominately male. Therefore, we also wondered how TAMS girls compared to the boys in the selection of college majors. After the completion of their two years at TAMS, students transfer at least 60 hours of college credit to other universities. At this point in their education, it is time to declare a major area of study which will lay the foundation of a future career. We found that our students fit a similar national pattern for gifted students with more males than females selecting engineering, physical science and mathematics, and more females choosing the biological sciences and social sciences. However, the gaps between the genders in engineering and physical science at TAMS were not as large. For example, the longitudinal study conducted with over 1,200 intellectually talented students conducted by Benbow and Arjmand (1990) indicated that about three times as many boys as girls selected engineering, compared with about twice as many at TAMS. In the physical sciences the Benbow and Arjmand sample reported twice as many boys choosing this major as girls, while in the TAMS group, the numbers were very similar (males 17%; females 15%). At TAMS, girls are much more likely to choose the biological sciences than boys (females 32%, males 12%), and this gap is larger than that reported in the longitudinal study where the percentages were very similar for males and females.

It should be emphasized that in this study we only assessed one measure of academic success, grade point average, and that intended college majors are subject to changes and modifications. To more thoroughly evaluate the outcome for these students, data over time will need to be gathered and evaluated. For example, career choices and transitions may significantly vary for these students. However, from this initial investigation, it does appear that the young women who leave home early to begin a college curriculum focused on math and science are very capable academically and they are beginning to challenge previous patterns of disparity between the genders in these fields.

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The Make-Believe World of Colorblindness: Not What Our Children Need

Sharon E. Rush



My daughter has a self-portrait on her bedroom door, which she drew when she was seven years old. It extends the length of the door, depicts her whole body, and is somewhat overwhelming as you approach her room. It tells me and other viewers the image she has of herself; she imagines herself a tall basketball player, like Michael Jordan, because her jersey in the picture even has his number on it. There are only three colors in the picture: her uniform is red, her hair is black, and her skin is brown. Significantly, without the brown and the black, the picture wouldn't look anything like her. The brown and black colors are the "real" identifying traits of my daughter.

As the mother of a black daughter, I am particularly interested in living in a society that is free of negative stereotypes of Blacks and girls. My daughter struggles almost daily trying to overcome the biases against her because she is a black girl. She has often remarked on occasion that she wishes she were a boy. For example, after we saw the movie the *Lion King*, she said she wished she were a boy so she could be the Lion King. I chuckled to myself, squeezed her hand and said back to her, "Sweetheart, to be the Lion King, you would have to be a lion." I emphasized the word lion. She sheepishly looked up at me, and said, "Oops!"

Clearly, my daughter had not even thought that being a human was a barrier to becoming a lion king. And there is no reason she should have been embarrassed that she missed this point. Four-year-olds do not always know the difference between reality and fantasy. Significantly, even though she was not always sure of the difference between reality and fantasy, she still could not imagine herself as the lion king unless she changed into a boy. In other words, the movie's mes-

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sage that only boys can be rulers of the jungle was so clear that even a four-year-old understood it. From her perspective, the only thing that would keep her from being ruler of the jungle was her femaleness, not her humanness.

Similarly, my daughter also expresses on occasion that she wishes she were white. This desire extends beyond a daughter wanting to be like her mother. Rather, she says she wants to be white usually in the context of being hurt or deprived of a privilege that she believes is attached to being white. For example, she was convinced that a student had to be white to receive the "Student of the Week" award in her elementary school. She came to this conclusion after she tried very hard to get this award, but lost to some of her white classmates who had already won it. Further, as some white students received the award more than once, none of her classmates of color achieved this distinction even once. She deduced that "you have to be white to get that," as she told me, and she stopped trying. Ironically, she eventually did receive the award but it took so long for her good citizenship to be acknowledged that she lost interest in it. These stories illustrate my struggle as a mother to instill in my black daughter a positive self-esteem. My daughter was not very old by the time she figured out that Whites and boys are privileged in our society. She understood from a very early age that if only she were one or the other, she would be better off than she is as neither. Being White or male means having more power and privilege than being Black or female.¹ Certainly, to be a black girl makes her one of the least powerful people in our society.

My daughter's chances of having a healthy self-esteem depend on developing positive images of Blacks, women, and Black women.² The more valued Blacks, women, and Black women are in our society, the more likely she is to have a positive image of herself. In this essay, it is not possible to explore both patriarchy and white hegemony. As the adoptive white mother of a black little girl, I have learned about racism in a way that may have escaped me but for my relationship with my daughter. Thus, I want to focus primarily on race and its importance in shaping the identity of all children, but especially children of color. Specifically, my experiences with my daughter have convinced me that our society, which is committed to racial equality, should consider rejecting a philosophy of race that is premised on color blindness. In a society where racial inequality is as pervasive and persistent as it is in ours, color blindness generally translates into a negative color consciousness that promotes white privilege.³ In contrast, when race and color are consciously viewed as positive identity traits, they can be valued in ways that promote racial equality.⁴

The Color-Blind Philosophy

At present, many Americans agree with a few political leaders that race is no longer relevant in many areas of public life. Moreover, this sentiment is fast becoming law in many jurisdictions, and at least three United States Supreme Court Justices believe this as well.⁵ For example, a majority of voters in California followed the leadership of Governor Pete Wilson to decide that it should be illegal to consider an applicant's race in hiring and admissions decisions in public employment and education.⁶ Stated alternatively, a majority of the voters in California decided to outlaw affirmative action in public hiring and school admissions by amending their state constitution through Proposition 209.⁷ The basic presumption behind their vote is that society is blind to color and that it would be unfair to give an applicant of one race an advantage over applicants of other races in public hiring and admissions decisions.

The elimination of affirmative action does not mean, of course, that race becomes a neutral factor in hiring and admissions. Many scholars have demonstrated that eliminating affirmative action merely means that the status quo will be maintained.⁸ Without affirmative action, state programs and jobs are likely to remain largely white and largely male. In the context of race, the unstated preference for whiteness is part and parcel of a color blind, anti-affirmative action philosophy.

Many adults do not understand that the consequence of a color blind philosophy is to maintain white hegemony. Rather, they may agree that society should be color blind because they believe that hiring and admissions decisions should be based solely on merit and that race is irrelevant to merit.⁹ While I agree that race is irrelevant to merit, I disagree that race is irrelevant to how merit is measured. It is the latter point where the debate about affirmative action gets stuck.¹⁰

Specifically, opponents of affirmative action suggest that merit should be measured a particular way, usually by standardized exams. Yet, many reliable studies demonstrate that most standardized exams are biased against certain minority groups, including Blacks and women.¹¹ Generally, the bias results because the test questions reflect white, middle-class culture, and also fail to take into account disparities in educational opportunities between white, middle-class children and other children.¹² Further complicating the fairness of standardized exams is the question of the effect of institutional racism and sexism on minorities and women. For example, it is common knowledge that women are discouraged from pursuing math and science, yet many standardized exams center around math and science questions.¹³

In contrast, proponents of affirmative action acknowledge and accept that traditional measures of merit are biased against Blacks, women, and other minorities and suggest that new ways of evaluating merit should be adopted that are fair to Blacks, people of other colors, women, and Whites.¹⁴ If the bias could be removed from standardized exams, they would be more reliable predictors of success for minorities and women. Alternatively, other indicia of merit could be used to make admissions and hiring decisions. For example, more emphasis could be put on life experiences; an applicant who started a successful business may be qualified to start an MBA program even though he or she performed poorly on the entrance exam. In such a case, down-playing the importance of the exam score poses little risk for the school, because sound evidence exists that the student has a good business mind.

Adoption of a color blind philosophy like that in California's Proposition 209 obviates the need to address the problems posed by studies that demonstrate the race and other types of bias in traditional measurements of merit, like standardized exams. A color blind philosophy ostensibly renders the debate moot. Yet, by cutting off this discussion, laws that purport to be race neutral actually operate to promote racial inequality. If traditional measurements of quality are biased, as many social scientists conclude, think of the inequality that results from reliance on them in making school admissions and public employment hiring decisions.

The purpose of this essay is not to resolve this merit-debate, but rather to point out that it is complex, abstract, and largely theoretical. Affirmative action is easily misunderstood, even by well-intentioned people, because it is complex, abstract, and theoretical. If governors, judges, admissions officials, employers, and other adults are willing to ignore the complex questions stemming from adoption of a color blind philosophy, imagine how overwhelming even the "easier" race issues can be for children—all children. For example, when my daughter's teacher tells my daughter that she does not even see that my daughter is Black, what is my daughter supposed to make of this? Remember that this is a little girl who didn't know the difference between a lion and a human. Now her teacher is telling her that she isn't really Black. Well, if she isn't really Black, then what is she?

The teacher's color blind view of the world, in reality, translates into a view of the world where everyone is white. In other words, the teacher meant by her comment that she thought of my daughter as a white person. In other words, when the teacher said that she didn't see my daughter as Black, what she really meant is that she would never discriminate against my daughter because she is Black. And I believe she believed this; after all, this was a wonderful woman who genuinely loved her job and all the children. My daughter also thought the world of her.

Yet, the teacher's denial of my daughter's blackness was a form of racism, albeit unconscious racism. Specifically, the teacher's comment suggested that the only way for her to overcome her tendency to discriminate against my Black daughter was for her to see my daughter as white, which the teacher believed was a "neutral" color consistent with a color blind philosophy. Coincidentally, the teacher was white. If my daughter and all the children really were White, then the teacher obviously would not discriminate against any child because of a child's racial difference. By creating a make-believe world of color blindness, the teacher may have had the best of intentions—to be fair to all her students. The teacher may also have believed that her "race neutral" view of the world also evidenced her ability to transcend racism.

Young children love make-believe, but being a part of the teacher's make-believe world was not in the children's best interest. The make-believe world of color blindness damages the self-esteem of children of color and gives white children a false sense of racial superiority. Let me be more specific about each of these points.

Color Blindness and Self-Esteem

A. The Precept of Black Inferiority¹⁵

Whenever an adult denies a Black child's color, the adult chips away at the child's esteem. A refusal to openly acknowledge the color of a child of color gives the child conflicting messages about the child's racial identity. The conflict arises because parents of children of color try to instill racial pride in their children. Simultaneously, children of color live with daily reminders of their color difference from Whites. Usually, children are made aware of their "difference" in hurtful ways; they are excluded from gifted programs, they are left to play by themselves, they suffer racial taunts and teases. My daughter is eight years old and all of these things have happened to her.¹⁶ She tested into the gifted program, but it took almost six months for the school to follow through with the actual placement. When she did join the class, she was the only black child in it. She has more hurt feelings than a child should have to endure—almost always stemming from race incidents.

Yet not once has any teacher made a positive example of her racial difference from her white classmates. Admittedly, in second grade, the children learned about race and cultural differences. But the lessons, like the adult debate on affirmative action, were largely academic. When real-life racial incidents unfolded like when my daughter and other children of color were teased, my experience was that the white children were talked to privately, if at all. Racial problems generally were not dealt with in a group setting, where all the children could benefit.

From the perspective of a child of color, what is she learning from the way race is treated in her public schools? The answer is easy: she and other children are learning that color blindness translates into a negative color consciousness that promotes an image of children of color as inferior to white children—the precept of black inferiority. My message to her that she should be proud to be Black is drowned out by the overwhelming message of other white adults who influence her life that being Black is a “bad” thing. It is so “bad,” in fact, that we should pretend she is white. It is so “unbelievable” that a black child could test into a gifted program that we’ll delay her placement until she has been adequately observed to make sure she really belongs there. In fact, it is so “bad” to be Black that we won’t even deal with the unfair and hurtful way Blacks are treated by their white classmates.

Imagine the conflict a child of color feels at being a valuable member of a family and a racial community outside of school and being disaffirmed as a child of color in school and in society at large. Creating and contributing to this kind of conflict in a child is unfair to the child who often does not know what to do with the difference messages he or she is receiving. This conflict places the child in a Hobson’s choice position: the child either negates his or her racial identity for the purpose of “getting along” in white society, or the child tries to hold onto his or her self-respect as a child of color, suffering through all the strife that kind of struggle entails. Self-respect? Self-denial? What kind of a choice is this for a child?

B. The Precept of White Superiority

While the child of color chooses between self-respect and self-denial, the child’s white classmates also struggle to understand the conflicting messages they receive from adults who profess that skin color doesn’t matter. Children may be too young to understand the complexities of race, but they do understand color differences. What they see is what they know. From a white child’s perspective, a teacher who says she doesn’t see color must be blind—not color blind in the adult sense—but blind in the child’s sense that she can’t see at all.

But clearly the teacher can see the child of color; she is not blind in that way. Thus, she must have other reasons for denying that she sees color differences. The white child may interpret the teacher’s reluctance to be positively color conscious as a message, not just of the inferiority of non-whites, but also of the superiority of whites. Messages that make a child feel “good” about himself or herself are easily absorbed and the white child quickly learns how valued he or she is, in part, because of the child’s whiteness. That is how self-esteem is built—by reinforcing a positive self-image and a strong sense of confidence in a child. Consequently, just as the color blind philosophy as espoused to young children reinforces black inferiority and chips away at black

children's self-esteem, the philosophy also reinforces white superiority and inflates white children's self-esteem. Eventually, the white child learns to accept his or her superior place in the world and feels entitled to it. It becomes the way things are, just like the blonde lion is king of the jungle. Similarly, this is the primary lesson of color blindness and it is reflected in the opposition to affirmative action. Affirmative action based on race conflicts with the "natural order" whites have been taught all their lives—that they should be the preferred applicants for all public jobs or all seats in public schools.

I have tried to demonstrate that the color blind philosophy is blind to the needs of children—all children. The challenge for responsible adults thus is to become a positively color conscious society and I want to briefly address what we might focus on as we strive toward this goal.

On Becoming Positively Color Conscious

A positive feeling about color promotes racial equality. Certainly, one lesson our society learned from Supreme Court decisions like *Brown v. Bd. Of Education*¹⁷ is that our Constitution will not tolerate involuntary racial segregation. Although the racial segregation of today is not mandated by law as it was during the days of Jim Crow,¹⁸ it nevertheless results from historical and persistent racial inequality throughout society, in all areas, including housing, education, and job opportunities.¹⁹ In other words, it is still involuntarily imposed on people of color.

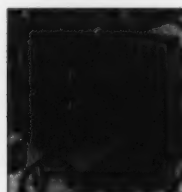
Consistent with *Brown* and our democratic ideals, if our society is to overcome the involuntary de facto segregation, it must recommit to racial equality. A philosophy like color blindness is a detour from the road to racial equality. It is impossible to achieve racial equality as long as color is devalued. Recall my daughter's self-portrait; black and brown were essential aspects of her identity and she proudly colored herself in her self-portrait. If we can reach the point where children of color can hold onto their racial pride and where white children can have healthy but not artificially inflated self-esteem, then we will become a positively color conscious society and racial equality can become a reality.

Endnotes

1. See Stephanie Wildman, *Language and Silence: Making Systems of Privilege Visible*, 35 Santa Clara L. Rev. 881 (1995).
2. See Ronald Turner, "Little Black Sambo," *Images, and Perceptions: Professor Cohen's Critique of Professor Lawrence*, 12 Harv. Blackletter L.J. 131 (1995).
3. See John A. Powell, *The "Racing" of American Society: Race Functioning as a Verb Before Signifying as a Noun*, 15 Law & Ineq. 99 (1997); Neil Gotanda, *A Critique of "Our Constitution is Color-Blind"*, 44 Stan. L. Rev. 1 (1991); Charles R. Lawrence, III, *The Id, the Ego, and Equal Protection: Reckoning with Unconscious Racism*, 39 Stan. L. Rev. 317 (1987).
4. See e.g., Gary Peller, *Race-Consciousness*, 1990 Duke L.J. 758 (exploration of value of critical race theory to legal analysis); Barbara Flagg, "Was Blind, But Now I See": *White Race Consciousness and the Requirement of Discriminatory Intent*, 91 Mich. L. Rev. 953 (1993); Alexander Aleinikoff, *A Case for Race-Consciousness*, 91 Colum. L. Rev. 1060 (1991).
5. See generally, Sharon E. Rush, *The Heart of Equal Protection: Education and Race*, 23 N.Y.U. Rev. of Law & Soc. Change 1 (1997); Gerald S. Janoff, *Comment, Adarand Constructors, Inc. v. Peña: The Supreme Court To Decide the Fate of Affirmative Action*, 69 Tul. L. Rev. 997 (1995).
6. See Dave Leshner, *Battle over Prop. 209 Moves to the Courts*, L.A. Times, Nov. 7, 1996 at A1. Fifty-four percent of California voters were in favor of Proposition 209. *Id.* This equated to a margin of 750,000 votes. *Id.*
7. Cal. Const. art. I sec. 31(a) (amended 1996).
8. See Jerome McCristal Culp, Jr., *Telling a Black Legal Story: Privilege, Authenticity, "Blunders," and Transformation in Outsider Narratives*, 82 Va. L. Rev. 69 (1996); William R. Corbett, *The "Fall" of Summers, The Rise of "Pretext Plus," and the Escalating Subordination of Federal Employment Discrimination Law to Employment at Will: Lessons from McKennon and Hicks*, 30 Ga. L. Rev. 305 (1996); Jerome McCristal Culp, Jr., *Colorblind Remedies and the Intersectionality of Oppression: Policy Arguments Masquerading as Moral Claims*, 69 N.Y.U. L. Rev. 162 (1994).
9. See Richard Delgado, *Rodrigo's Tenth Chronicle: Merit and Affirmative Action*, 83 Geo. L.J. 1711 (1995).
10. I explore this in greater detail in Sharon E. Rush, *Understanding Affirmative Action: One Feminist's Perspective in Ethics in the University* (1994) (M. Sellers ed.).
11. See Howard Goodman, *Penn Displays Firm Belief in Affirmative Action*, Harrisburg Patriot & Evening News, Nov. 8, 1995 at B11.
12. For a critique of the LSAT's bias, see Leslie G. Espinoza, *The LSAT: Narratives and Bias*, 1 Am. U. J. Gender & L. 121 (1993).
13. See Steven Sailer, *How Can Bias Infect the Math Scores on Standardized Tests?*, Christian Sci. Monitor, Nov. 28, 1990, at 20.
14. For a look at both sides of the affirmative action debate, see John E. Morrison, *Colorblindness, Individuality and Merit: An Analysis of the Rhetoric Against Affirmative Action*, 79 Iowa L. Rev. 313 (1994).
15. This term comes from A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr., *Shades of Freedom* (1997).
16. I am writing a book about my daughter's experiences with racial inequality. It is entitled, *Positively Color Conscious: Reflections on Race by a White Mother and her Black Little Girl* (in the process of being reviewed by publishers).
17. 347 U.S. 483 (1954).
18. See C. Van Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (3d ed. 1974).
19. For an excellent look into the modern day causes of segregation, see Douglas S. Massey & Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (1993).

The Gender and Racial Influences of the Child Behavior Checklist

Sharon A. Latkovich and Isadore Newman



Introduction

According to Weisz (1995), the population of children under 18 in the United States who suffer from mental disorders serious enough to warrant treatment was estimated at 7.5 million in 1989. Of this group, poor children were twice as likely as wealthier children to have extreme behavior problems. In a study sponsored by the Children's Defense Fund, Sherman (1994) found that the effects of poverty on a child's future were more exponential than cumulative. "However, the rate of poverty is considerably higher for minorities, who are fast becoming majority demographic groups in the ten largest states. Four out of nine black children are poor" (Reed & Sautter, 1990, p. K4).

Unfortunately, the research on the incidence of mental illness and behavior problems in the African-American community is minimal and flawed. Specifically, Cannon and Locke (1977) noted, "Studies conducted to provide estimates of incidence and prevalence [of differential utilization of mental health facilities by blacks and whites] are likely to utilize measures which have been validated on white populations and may not provide a true measure of mental disorder among black populations" (p. 428).

Cannon and Locke could have been speaking of the Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL) when they referred to "validated on white populations" as the CBCL's normative sample was over 80% white. The CBCL was developed by Achenbach and Edelbrock to "record in a standardized format the

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behavioral problems and competencies of children [ages 4 to 16] as reported by their parents or others who know the child well" (Kramer & Conoley, 1992, p. 36). The actual CBCL test items are composed of behavior problem assessment and social competency scales.

The instrument is widely used by practitioners and researchers alike. It can be completed in a relatively short period of time (15 minutes). T. M. Achenbach (personal communication, February 1995) has claimed that "one million CBCL test instruments are used each year." Practical applications vary from the more traditional mental health centers and medical contexts to schools and forensic applications. This high rate of CBCL administrations has led to a presumption of appropriateness for all groups (e.g., Crawford, J. J., personal communication, July 16, 1995; Kalverdijk, L., personal communication, August 1, 1995). Therefore, this presumption needs to be addressed especially in light of the errors of past research into racial differences in mental testing raised by Cannon and Locke (1977), or more specifically, the use of a racially homogeneous (i.e., white) normative sample.

The universal nature of the CBCL combined with its extensive usage of the comparative norms precludes adequate differentiation for children who differ from these universal norms. In other words, the image of strong validity based on a large number of CBCL administrations is deceiving as the normative samples for both the behavior problems and social competency scales were composed of over 80% white children.

Therefore, a major purpose of this study is to investigate the use of the CBCL with African-American children. This study would assist researchers in child behavior to identify and document whether the CBCL instrument, as a whole or in parts, provides significant assistance in diagnosis and treatment for African-Americans, a population on which the instrument is frequently used. "Achenbach and Edelbrock examined effects of race and SES [socioeconomic status] but found that differences were too small to warrant separate norms" (Christenson, 1990, p. 41).

Such an investigation of the CBCL data for African-American children would identify those unique behaviors so as to better diagnose, refer, and treat this population. Additionally, relationships between variables which might affect a black child's behavior would be uncovered. While there has been a plethora of research on the CBCL, there has been a very minimal evaluation of relationships between psychosocial variables for African-American children, despite expectations to the contrary.

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Pendlebury (1994) noted that the term "minority" has distinctly unique connotations for different societies at various times throughout history. Thus, for the purposes of the present research, the term "minority" is defined as that group of people who are considered to be Black or African-American.

Lamentably, racism, in addition to the environment, adds an extra burden of stress on black children. At an elementary school level, racism takes the form of verbal aggression, most commonly as name calling (Weiner, 1994). The cumulative effect of such childhood acts of racism, the poverty within the black community, and the ordinary chaos of adolescence leaves the black teenager closer to the fuse of trouble and mental illness, according to the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development (as cited in Reed & Sautter, 1990, p. K4).

This bleak environment can conspire to lead these children to choose the economic allure of drugs and gangs. Such an environment is clearly not healthy and can be identified as a major contributor to mental health problems. This is the contention of Hill et al. (1993) who claim that it is the stressful environment in which blacks live that "contribute to the high prevalence of mental disorders among blacks and not the amount of melanin in their skin (p. 427)."

In contrast to the preceding discussion of the unique environment of a black child, there are those researchers who claim that race is an insignificant factor in determining the occurrence of mental illness. In her research, Hagmann (1994) concluded that there was no racial differences in the Rorschach Arrangement Task and the Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL) based on a positive correlation between clear communication on the Rorschach and the Total Competence Scale on the CBCL. An empirical conclusion of no difference necessitates a statistical test of the different groups, which in this case would have been different races. However, the sample used by Hagmann was comprised of only one race, 95 African-American children. Therefore, her finding of no racial difference is unsubstantiated due to the racially homogeneous sample.

Achenbach & Edelbrock (1981) make a similar claim in regards to the CBCL. Specifically, they found that, "race clearly showed the smallest differences in reported behavior problems. ... None of the racial differences revealed by the ANCOVAs accounted for more than one percent of the variance" (p. 49). Mooney (1984) appears to corroborate Achenbach & Edelbrock, at first. Yet later on in his review of the CBCL, Mooney gives the demographic breakdown of the clinical sample which provides conflicting evidence to his earlier statement. First, the sample was predominantly white (81.2%). Second, the sample was drawn solely from eastern mental health agencies. Third, the sample was from a clinical population (Mooney, 1984, p. 177). Further con-

founding the "minimal racial bias" theory, is Mooney's call for "further research on ethnic populations, particularly Hispanics and Asian-Americans" (p. 177).

Therefore, it appears that at least a shadow of doubt can be cast on these contrarians' assertions. At a minimum, the controversy points to the need for further research on minorities. Flawed methodology, such as inpatient samples and instruments which were validated for whites only, has marred what little research is available (Hill et al., 1993; Moran, 1990). Specifically, Moran (1990) points to the poor quality of research:

The quality of this body of research is relatively poor. Most sample sizes are extremely small, and samples consist of inmate or inpatient populations ... Investigations of cultural differences on other objective tests or tests that are used more routinely with children are rare. (p. 531)

Another problem has been the lack of empirical support for research findings, such as the work of Hagmann (1994) mentioned earlier. Moran (1990) makes the observation that this lack of empirical evidence is tantamount to "a priori acceptance of the null hypothesis" (p. 525); in other words, researchers are concluding that no difference exists between racial groups before the appropriate tests are conducted. The lack of empirical data has also been attested to by Johnson (as cited in Hill et al., 1993) who conducted a content analysis of ten journals. His analysis found minimal research on mental illness by race; what research was available was supported by weak to nonexistent empirical data.

These questionable research findings have been attributed in part to the differential usage of psychiatric facilities by whites and blacks (Cannon & Locke, 1977; Jenkins, 1982; Moran, 1990). Whites use more private facilities whereas blacks have a tendency to use more public facilities, such as community health centers. As a result of the utilization of inpatient samples from public institutions, the tendency has been to report a higher incidence of mental illness in African-Americans (Jenkins, 1982; Pasamanick as cited by Moran, 1990).

Another reason for the deficient research is diagnostic differences by race. Some researchers have attributed this difference to racial stereotypes on the part of the clinician (Jenkins, 1982; Cannon & Locke, 1977). Cannon & Locke (1977) also point to communication differences between white and black patients and the predominantly white psychiatric professional community.

Whatever the reason(s) for the flawed research, it is clear that there is need for further study. The wide use of psychological instruments, especially in the black community, the importance of deci-

sions relative to the corresponding test results, and simply, the need to investigate racial differences lends additional support to the call for more research.

Gender

Research consideration must also be given to the relationship between gender and race. Often, it is alluded to and the implications discussed (e.g., Pendlebury (1994); Sandberg, Meyer-Bahlburg, & Yager (1991)), yet there has been minimal empirical testing. While some studies do look at gender and race, there is ample room for further exploration.

For example, Leadbetter & Bishop (1994) found that "African-American mothers of male children reported more behavioral problems" (p. 644) using a sample of African-American and Puerto Rican children. Yet the minimum of diversity within the sample begets the need for additional investigation. Likewise, Reynolds & Paget's study (as cited in Moran, 1990) calls for further inquiry as they found a significant triple-order interaction between sex, race, and age. If an analysis of race is precluded by a relationship with gender and, potentially, age, then a complete examination of racial differences should also include gender.

However, there are researchers who contend that gender differences are minimal to non-existent. Burnett-Doering (1992) did not find a gender main effect when examining a sample of Mexican American and non-Hispanic sexually-abused children. Yet, her sample sizes were so small (ten female and ten male in each group) as to render her findings potentially misleading. Similarly, Worth (1993) found no gender differences in the behavior of children of battered women, but her total sample size was 31.

These small sample sizes were one of the reasons why Mooney (1984) encouraged further gender research. He also emphasized the dearth of research in this area, a point also made by Jacklin (1989) and Powers, Hauser, & Kilner (1989). What empirical research exists in regards to children's behavioral development has been conducted without regard to gender differences.

Methodology

The subjects ($n = 2,971$) for this study were chosen from the population of those coming to a child guidance center for treatment in a Northeastern Ohio city. The pre-1991 version of the Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL) was administered to the parent or guardian who brought the child in for treatment. Data collection was done as part of the normal initial assessment process of the agency from April 1991 through August 1993.

The mean age in the sample was 10.64. While a breakdown by age for the agency was unavailable, it was noted that their outpatient client case load has seen a dramatic increase in the number of older adolescents, especially in 1994. However, that relative percentage is expected to decline as service to Head Start commenced in 1994 (Bender, 1994). Slightly more than half of the sample was male ($n = 1,683$, 56%), which mirrors the gender demographics of the agency.

The sample, like the community and the agency population, is predominantly European American. Sixty-seven percent of the subjects ($n = 2,002$) were white; 23% ($n = 677$) were black. However, the relative percentage of African Americans receiving agency services (and in the sample) is double their representation in the community at large.

The research design that was used in this study was *ex post facto* (correlational). As a result, no causal statement can be made about *ex post facto* research. Such a research design, by the very nature of its inclusion of an attribute or assigned variable, can only demonstrate relationships, not causation.

A *t* test was used to test the statistical significance of the proposed relationships in the first three hypotheses. The mean CBCL profile for black children was compared to the corresponding mean for white children. A *t* statistic was then calculated and compared to the appropriate value of *t* at an alpha of .05 in order to determine significance.

Multiple linear regression was used to test the statistical significance of the proposed relationship in the last hypothesis. A regression model was written to reflect the research question. A full and restricted model was then tested to determine if the research hypothesis was accepted or rejected. An *F* test was used to determine if the R^2 of the full and restricted models were significantly different at an alpha of .05, using a two-tailed test of significance.

The hypotheses tested were:

- H₁: There is a significant difference in total social competence scores for black children as compared to white children in the sample.
- H₂: There is a significant difference in total behavior problem scores for black children as compared to white children in the sample.
- H₃: There is a significant difference in total CBCL profiles for black children as compared to white children in the sample.
- H₄: Interaction between gender and race accounts for a significant amount of variance in predicting CBCL profiles over and above what can be accounted for by race and sex alone.

Results

The data in Table 1 are the reported findings related to the testing of the first research hypothesis. The data supported the research hypothesis for all of the total social competence scores. Therefore, the researcher rejected the null hypothesis for total activities, total social, total school, and the total competence scores. The sample data clearly supports the claim that the social competence scores for black children differed from the white children in the sample. Black children were significantly more active, more social, and more overall socially competent than white children. However, they were significantly less proficient at school.

Table 1 Results for Hypothesis 1: Black Children as Compared to White Children on Total Social Competence Scores

Variable	t statistic ^a	Probability	Black Mean & (SD)	White Mean & (SD)
Total Activities	2.065*	0.0393	5.963 (1.700)	5.784 (1.833)
Total Social	3.364*	0.0008	5.683 (1.894)	5.227 (2.071)
Total School	-2.772*	0.0057	3.490 (1.482)	3.698 (1.450)
Total Competence	3.275*	0.0012	15.571 (3.416)	14.640 (3.831)

Note. A t-test was used to analyze the data and an assigned alpha level of .05 for a two-tailed test was considered statistically significant.

^a*p < .05.

The data in Table 2 are the data related to the testing of the second research hypothesis. The data supported the research hypothesis for the anxious/depressed profile, the thought problems profile, the attention problems profile, and the sex problems profile. Therefore, the researcher rejected the null hypothesis for these variables.

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Table 2 Results for Hypothesis 2: Black Children as Compared to White Children on Total Behavior Problem Scores

Variable	t statistic ^a	Probability	Black Mean & (SD)	White Mean & (SD)
Withdrawn	-1.317	0.1878	4.937 (3.708)	5.153 (3.547)
Somatic Complaints	-0.603	0.5465	2.658 (2.946)	2.738 (2.954)
Anxious/Depressed	-5.053*	0.0001	7.437 (5.749)	8.734 (5.648)
Social Problems	1.383	0.1670	4.266 (2.975)	4.081 (3.054)
Thought Problems	4.222*	0.0001	2.849 (2.564)	2.378 (2.256)
Attention Problems	2.314*	0.0208	7.985 (4.821)	7.491 (4.554)
Delinquent Behavior	-0.024	0.9808	5.505 (4.178)	5.509 (4.377)
Aggressive Behavior	-1.588	0.1125	16.245 (9.126)	16.894 (9.042)
Sex Problems ^b	-2.490*	0.0130	0.550 (1.141)	0.724 (1.400)

Note. A t-test was used to analyze the data and an assigned alpha level of .05 for a two-tailed test was considered statistically significant.

^a*p < .05.

^bThe CBCL scoring program scores the sex problems scale for 4-11 year olds only.

The data in Table 3 are the data related to the testing of the third research hypothesis. The data supported the research hypothesis for the broad-band internalizing scale. Therefore, the researcher rejected the null hypothesis of no difference for internalizing. Also, the sign of the t statistic indicates a negative relationship; in other words, black children scored significantly lower on the internalizing scale than their white counterparts in the sample.

The data in Table 4 are the data related to the testing of the fourth hypothesis. The data supported the research hypothesis for the total withdrawn profile, the total anxious/depressed profile, and the total internalizing scale. Therefore, the researcher rejected the null hypothesis for these variables.

Table 3 Results for Hypothesis 3: Black Children as Compared to White Children on Total CBCL Profiles

Variable	t statistic ^a	Probability	Black ^b Mean & (SD)	White ^c Mean & (SD)
Total Problems	-1.046	0.2956	56.611 (29.535)	57.979 (27.926)
Internalizing	-3.149*	0.0017	14.328 (9.955)	15.725 (9.684)
Externalizing	-1.183	0.2371	21.750 (12.325)	22.403 (12.263)

Note. A t-test was used to analyze the data and an assigned alpha level of .05 for a two-tailed test was considered statistically significant.

^a* $p < .05$.

Table 4 Results for Hypothesis 4: Interaction Between Gender and Race

Variable	F statistic ^a	Probability
Total Activities	0.8451	0.3583
Total Social	0.5102	0.4753
Total School	0.2495	0.6176
Total Competence	0.5326	0.4658
Withdrawn	3.8827*	0.0493
Somatic Complaints	0.1212	0.7279
Anxious/ Depressed	5.6294*	0.0180
Social Problems	2.0731	0.1505
Thought Problems	0.0257	0.8728
Attention Problems	0.0041	0.9490
Delinquent Behavior	1.2874	0.2570
Aggressive Behavior	0.7706	0.3804
Sex Problems ^b	0.6061	0.4366
Total Problems	0.2327	0.6297
Internalizing	4.2261*	0.0403
Externalizing	1.0393	0.3084

Note. An F-test was used to analyze the data and an assigned alpha level of .05 for a two-tailed test was considered statistically significant.

^a* $p < .05$.

^bThe CBCL scoring program scores the sex problems scale for 4-11 year olds only.

Conclusions

According to Christenson (1992), "Achenbach and Edelbrock examined effects of race but found that differences were too small to warrant separate norms" (p. 41). Yet the results of this study, in certain aspects, argue to the contrary. The social competence profiles were found to be significantly different between black and white children. However, the only one that indicated a lower score for black children was the total school profile. These results correspond to the comparison of the total CBCL profiles; black children were found to have a significantly lower score on the internalizing scale. As for the behavior profiles, black children were found to have significantly different scores for anxious/depressed (less) and thought problems (more).

Significant interaction between gender and race was found for the total withdrawn profile, the anxiety/depressed profile, and the total internalizing profile. For both the withdrawn and internalizing profiles, black males had higher profiles than their white counterparts. But white females had higher profiles than black women. Whites were more anxious than blacks but the difference was quite minimal for males.

One of the objectives of this study was to investigate CBCL data for African-American children so as to identify unique behaviors. The identification of unique behaviors would enable clinicians to better diagnose, refer, and treat this population. Indeed, the investigation did find several unique behaviors and social competencies. Black children scored higher on all of the social competence scores, except the total school scale. It was also determined that African-American children scored lower on the anxiety scale, but higher on thought problems. So unique behaviors and social competencies that were identified include a higher activities score, including such items as sports, jobs, and hobbies; a higher social score, including such items as organizations, friends, siblings, and parents; a lower school score, including such items as mean academic performance and remedial classes; a lower anxiety profile; and more obsessive-related behaviors.

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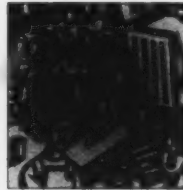
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A Legal Standard for Judging Peer Sexual Harassment Claims in Primary and Secondary Schools

Mary L. Clark



Introduction

Peer sexual harassment in primary and secondary schools is on the rise, as are law suits challenging this form of harassment under Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972.¹ This paper begins with an overview of the problem of sexual harassment in primary and secondary schools followed by a summary of recent Title IX litigation addressing this problem. The paper then proposes a legal standard for defining and remedying peer sexual harassment under Title IX that applies hostile environment sexual harassment principles that were developed under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964² to the primary and secondary school setting.

Overview of Peer Sexual Harassment Claims

Recently, there has been an explosion in the number of law suits alleging school liability under Title IX for peer sexual harassment in primary and secondary schools.³ In essence, law suits alleging peer sexual harassment claims assert that schools have a legal duty to prevent and redress sexual harassment of one student by another student. These suits differ in kind from those asserting school responsibility for sexual harassment of students by teachers or other school employees. Despite this distinction, all claims of school liability for sexual harassment, regardless of whether the harassment is by peers or school employees, are premised upon a school's responsibility to provide a safe learning environment for students that is free from discrimination.

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Schools are failing to meet their responsibility of providing a secure learning environment. According to a recent American Association of University Women Educational Foundation ["AAUW"] survey, eighty-five percent of girls and seventy-six percent of boys reported having been sexually harassed in school.⁶ Eighty-one percent of all students, or more than four-fifths, have experienced school-based sexual harassment.⁷ The AAUW survey also revealed that girls are harassed more frequently and repeatedly than boys, that peer harassment occurs four times more than teacher-student harassment, and that girls are subjected to both peer harassment and teacher-student harassment more than boys.⁸ While eighteen percent of the harassed students stated that they had been harassed by a school employee, seventy-nine percent of the harassed students stated that they had been harassed by a peer, with eighty-six percent of the harassed girls and seventy-one percent of the harassed boys acknowledging that they had experienced peer harassment.⁹

Peer sexual harassment inflicts tremendous damage upon students.¹⁰ Peer harassment seriously affects a student's sense of personal security, self-esteem, welcomeness in the school environment, desire to attend school, ability to concentrate and learn, and desire to speak in class.¹¹

In light of these findings regarding the frequency and impact of peer sexual harassment, courts, as well as schools,¹² should act strongly to remedy this growing problem. By defining when peer sexual harassment rises to the level of being legally actionable under Title IX, courts can filter out the non-severe or non-pervasive incidents of misdirected affection or name-calling for which schools should not be held liable under Title IX from those severe or pervasive incidents for which schools should be held liable under Title IX if they fail to respond promptly and adequately. By adopting this proposed legal standard, courts will ensure that the problem of peer sexual harassment will not be undermined, or overshadowed, by media reports sensationalizing incidents that are legally harmless.

Overview of Title IX Litigation Involving Peer Sexual Harassment Claims

The issue of school liability for peer sexual harassment under Title IX has been considered by two federal courts of appeals recently,¹³ but has not yet been addressed by the United States Supreme Court. The two federal courts of appeals that have considered the issue are in conflict as to whether schools can be held liable for peer sexual harassment. A three judge panel for the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit¹⁴ ruled that a school cannot be held liable for peer sexual harassment absent proof that the school intentionally discriminated on the basis of sex against a student-victim of peer sexual harassment by responding to his or her sexual harassment

complaint differently than it responded to a harassment complaint filed by a student-victim of the opposite sex.¹³ The Fifth Circuit reasoned that a school could be held liable under Title IX only if the school itself had an intent to discriminate on the basis of sex.¹⁴ This could be established by showing that a school did not respond to girls' harassment complaints in the same way that it responded to boys' harassment complaints.¹⁵ In effect, the Fifth Circuit adopted a "disparate response" theory of school liability, which creates the wrong incentives for schools to remedy peer sexual harassment. Under this theory, a school's liability for peer sexual harassment could be established only if a girl filed a claim of peer sexual harassment that went unremedied by the school, while the same school remedied a boy's claim of peer sexual harassment. If the claims of the boy and girl both went unremedied by the school, then the school could not be held liable for peer sexual harassment, according to the Fifth Circuit's reasoning, because the school would have handled both claims in the same non-responsive manner. Likewise, if the only claims of peer sexual harassment filed with the school were those filed by girls, then the school could not be held liable for peer sexual harassment no matter how poorly it responded to the girls' claims because there would be no evidence of disparate treatment of girls' and boys' claims since the boys had not filed any harassment claims.

By contrast, a three judge panel of the United States Court of Appeals for the Eleventh Circuit¹⁶ initially concluded that a school could be held liable for peer sexual harassment under Title IX as long as the student-victim could demonstrate that the school knowingly failed to redress the harassment.¹⁷ The Eleventh Circuit's panel opinion has no precedential value because it has been withdrawn pending *en banc* review by the full court. In the near future, and possibly as early as next term depending upon the outcome of the Eleventh Circuit's *en banc* decision in *Davis*, the Supreme Court may be called upon to determine the extent of school liability for peer sexual harassment under Title IX.

Proposed Legal Standard for Judging Peer Sexual Harassment

In the absence of a clearly articulated rule governing school liability for peer sexual harassment in primary and secondary schools, this paper proposes importing Title VII's hostile environment sexual harassment principles into the Title IX peer sexual harassment context.¹⁸ In *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson*,¹⁹ the Supreme Court recognized two types of workplace sexual harassment—*quid pro quo* harassment of a supervisee by a supervisor and hostile environment harassment of one co-worker by another co-worker. Courts should likewise recognize two classes of school-based sexual harassment—*quid pro quo* harassment of a student by a teacher and hostile environment harassment of one student by another student.

The latter type of harassment, i.e., hostile environment or peer sexual harassment, should be defined under Title IX as it is under Title VII, albeit with appropriate modifications, as unwelcome verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature that has the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with an individual's school performance or creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive educational environment.²⁰ In order to state a claim of peer sexual harassment, a student must demonstrate: (1) that s/he is a member of a group protected by Title IX;²¹ (2) that s/he was subject to unwelcome sexual harassment; (3) that the harassment was based on sex; (4) that the harassment was sufficiently severe or pervasive as to alter the terms and conditions of his or her educational environment, thereby creating a hostile, or abusive, learning environment; and (5) that the school should be held liable for the harassment.²²

Schools should be held liable for peer sexual harassment under Title IX when they knew or should have known of the harassment and failed to respond promptly and adequately to redress it. This liability standard, based on negligence principles, creates the proper incentives for school administrators to train and supervise teachers and students so as to prevent peer sexual harassment in the first place. It would also encourage school administrators to respond to allegations of sexual harassment when they arise so as to avoid liability for money damages.

Under this negligence standard, schools should be held liable for peer sexual harassment regardless of whether they have a policy prohibiting sexual harassment. While schools should be encouraged to adopt sexual harassment policies, a school should not be able to rest on its policy as a complete defense to liability for actual incidents of peer sexual harassment. Schools must be encouraged to train their teachers and students about sexual harassment and monitor their school environments to prevent such harassment in the first place. Schools must also be encouraged to respond promptly and adequately to harassment when it occurs. If a school's liability for harassment turned on whether it had adopted a sexual harassment policy, then the wrong incentives would be created. Schools would adopt such policies in order to protect themselves from liability, but would not be encouraged to go the further steps to protect students from harassment. Mere adoption of a sexual harassment policy would do nothing to further students' interests in being free from harassment. Therefore, a school's liability for peer sexual harassment should not turn on whether the school has a policy prohibiting such harassment.

Likewise, schools should be held liable for peer sexual harassment regardless of whether school authorities had actual, or first-hand, knowledge of the harassment so long as the school authorities had constructive knowledge of the harassment. This constructive knowledge standard asks

whether a teacher or other school official should have known of the harassment, i.e., whether they had an objectively reasonable basis to believe that harassment had occurred. By grounding liability on the presence of actual or constructive knowledge, the proper incentives are created for schools to redress peer sexual harassment so that schools will not willfully blind themselves to the existence of harassment in their buildings and on their campuses. If schools could limit their liability for peer sexual harassment to situations in which teachers or administrators had first-hand knowledge of the harassment, the wrong incentives would be created. Rather than protecting students' interests in being free from sexual harassment, schools would be concerned with limiting their legal liability for the harassment by turning a blind eye to potentially harmful situations.

Next, in light of the Supreme Court's decision in *Franklin v. Gwinnett County*²³ that money damages are available to remedy teacher-student harassment under Title IX, a strong argument can be made that money damages should also be available under Title IX against schools when they fail to remedy peer sexual harassment. The amount of money damages assessed against a school should depend upon how quickly and thoroughly the school responded to allegations or evidence of harassment. Again, this standard creates the proper incentives for school administrators to limit their exposure to money damages by training teachers and students about sexual harassment and maintaining close oversight over their student body to prevent peer sexual harassment from occurring in the first place. This standard also acts as an incentive for school administrators to respond promptly and adequately to harassment if it does occur so as to limit their liability.

Finally, it should be noted that courts are unlikely to hold a student-harasser liable for peer sexual harassment under Title IX on the grounds that the harasser does not constitute an "education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance" for purposes of Title IX coverage.²⁴ Just as most courts have held that an individual employee does not constitute an "employer" for purposes of Title VII coverage, courts are likely to hold that an individual student does not constitute an educational program under Title IX. Nonetheless, it may be possible to hold a student-harasser liable for peer sexual harassment under state tort law, such as that governing assault and battery or sexual assault.

Conclusion

Peer sexual harassment is a serious and growing problem. In order to respond to this problem in an effective manner, courts should define what behavior is sufficiently severe or pervasive to support a school's liability to a student-victim when the school fails to act promptly and adequately to remedy the harassing behavior. By defining what behavior is illegal, courts can distinguish pro-

hibited harassment from incidents of misdirected affection or name-calling that should not give rise to school liability. As a result, serious incidents of peer sexual harassment will not be overshadowed by the minor incidents currently sensationalized in the media. By adopting the proposed liability standards, courts will create the proper incentives for schools to prevent peer sexual harassment in the first place through training and monitoring and respond to harassment promptly and adequately when it does occur.

Endnotes

1. 20 U.S.C. § 1681 *et seq.*
2. 42 U.S.C. § 2000e *et seq.*
3. Title IX provides in relevant part:
"No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, ... be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance."
20 U.S.C. § 1681(a).
4. AAUW Educational Foundation, *Hostile Hallways: The AAUW Survey on Sexual Harassment in America's Schools* 7 (1993).
5. *Id.*
6. *Id.* at 7, 10-11.
7. *Id.* at 11.
8. AAUW Educational Foundation, *The AAUW Report: How Schools Shortchange Girls* 73-74 & n.46 (1992). Again, girls experience the harassment disproportionately to boys.
9. See *Hostile Hallways* at 15-17; see also Peggy Orenstein, *SchoolGirls: Young Women, Self-Esteem, and the Confidence Gap* 245-46, 299-300 (1994).
10. While courts should act decisively against peer sexual harassment, the primary responsibility for remedying such harassment should always rest with schools. Accordingly, the standard for school liability for peer sexual harassment proposed in this paper is premised upon the principle that schools have the primary obligation to prevent and redress peer sexual harassment.
11. In *Seamons v. Snow*, 84 F.3d 1226, 1232-33 (10th Cir. 1996), the United States Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit did not reach the question of school liability for peer sexual harassment because it concluded that the particular peer harassment was not based on sex.
12. The United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit is headquartered in New Orleans and considers appeals from the federal district courts sitting in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas.
13. *Rowinsky v. Bryan Indep. Sch. Dist.*, 80 F.3d 1006, 1008 (5th Cir.), cert. denied, 117 S. Ct. 165 (1996).
14. *Id.* at 1016.
15. *Id.*
16. The United States Court of Appeals for the Eleventh Circuit is headquartered in Atlanta and hears appeals from the federal district courts sitting in Alabama, Florida, and Georgia.
17. *Davis v. Monroe Cty. Bd. of Ed.*, 74 F.3d 1186, rehearing *en banc* granted and panel opinion vacated, 91 F.3d 1418 (11th Cir. 1996).
18. The Office of Civil Rights of the United States Department of Education, which enforces Title IX, recently articulated school liability standards for peer sexual harassment that largely mirror the standards proposed herein. See U.S. Department of Education, Office of Civil Rights, *Sexual Harassment Guidance*, 62 Fed. Reg. 12038, 12039-51 (March 13, 1997).
19. 477 U.S. 57 (1986).
20. See *Meritor*, 477 U.S. at 65.
21. Because Title IX applies to males as well as females, every girl and boy is a member of a group that is protected by Title IX.
22. See *Meritor*, 477 U.S. at 66-73.
23. 503 U.S. 60, 76 (1992).
24. 20 U.S.C. § 1681(a).

The Culture and Commercialization of Women's and Girls' Sports

Sally Otos



Education Title IX guarantees the right of both sexes to a reasonable share of funding in schools and colleges that receive federal funds, including in their sports programs. Partly because of this law, its use by large numbers of courageous young women, and the emergence of a new generation of coaches who themselves have benefitted from Title IX, women and girls are claiming sports in vast numbers—from jogging and swimming to competitive team sports like basketball and soccer, to “combat sports” like rugby and ice hockey.

One simple statistic demonstrates the magnitude of the change from the Emma Peel generation to that of Xena, Princess Warrior: “In 1972, only one of 27 high school girls played varsity sports. Today, that figure is one in three.”¹

Women's massive grassroots increase in participation, as well as spectating and consuming sports products, has enormous potential for changing the image and self-image of females in our society. The existence of sports opportunities as an alternative or in addition to academic success can help combat the drop in self-esteem among young women as they go through adolescence. I am convinced that an important element in that loss of a strong sense of self is our massive shift in attention to boys at that age, and especially to their success at competitive sports. In addition, the right to take up *physical* space in the world is an inherent element of sports, which has to enhance girls' sense of a right to emotional space, and their right to speak and to be heard. Celebrating young women's prowess in sports should benefit even non-players, as our overall cultural image of women shifts to reflect this new athleticism.

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Mary Pipher points to sports as one of the "protected" areas, in which girls can often stay emotionally healthy as they go through adolescence.² She also describes young women who abandon sports then, in response to peer pressure,³ or perhaps to cultural images of female athletes that disturb them.

Most of our society's responses to women's breakthrough in sports participation, at all ages and levels, are wonderfully positive. But some responses to these changes are meant to hold women back; some others are designed to profit in one way or another from young women's new athleticism but in ways that send mixed messages back to them; while still others push young women toward adopting some of the most questionable aspects of male sports culture. The purpose of this paper is to point out some of these possible pitfalls, so that we can help young women avoid new ways of suppressing aspects of themselves, and instead support the emergence of the fully authentic and healthy people we want our young sportswomen to be.

I will discuss two cultural battlefields for the hearts and minds of young women where we can play a direct role in supporting and educating individual students at various levels, at the same time ensuring that the norms and rules enforced by schools are positive for females. These efforts will also enhance our legal and political efforts to safeguard Title IX.

1) The first area is our society's sports culture, which has historically excluded females and all too often also been oppressive toward them. This male peer culture opens its arms to boys at puberty, when they have had a few years to learn skills and begin to establish their sports hierarchy. Girls suffer indirectly from the huge shift in attention to boys, especially to those who are successful at competitive sports. Girls can also suffer directly, when boys pay an initiation fee for this new, glowing approval by older boys and men by enforcing cultural restraints on their young female peers.

Our culture as a whole cherishes boys who demonstrate the qualities that sports are believed to inspire—not just physical strength, but competitiveness tempered by learning to be a member of a team. Such personality characteristics are even said to be the ones required for success in our economic system.⁴ Only a decade ago, *Sears* won a Title VII case based entirely on the stereotype that all males, and only males, had such sports-derived characteristics.⁵

Many people—and sometimes even whole communities—admire or at least tolerate successful male athletes whose competitive qualities cross the line into belligerence, a sense of superiority and general entitlement, and a desire to win above all else.⁶ We have historically not been good enough at guarding females from being victims of this male sports culture. We must now add a

new task: that of defining the socially acceptable limitations on competitiveness for young women as well as men. We must work hard to define and set the limits of acceptable behavior among all our athletes, both on and off the playing field.

2) The second area is the commercialism of women's and girls' sports, on several levels: ads for sports-related products; campaigns to sell events, teams, and even whole leagues; and the growing importance of product endorsements to the income of sports stars. I will focus on Nike as an example, both because it is so pervasive, and because its ads and product endorsement practices contain many contradictory messages to young women.⁷

These questions of culture and commercialism, which I address separately below, are powerfully interrelated in their impact on young women. For one thing, we live in an era where the dividing line between advertising and other forms of communication is dissolving. Infomercials and spokesmodels purport to be something other than advertising gimmicks. Ads dot the pages of the Internet, including those sites frequented by children, and enter our schools, posing as educational materials. This blurring of the line between information that is factual for its own sake, and information and images presented in order to sell products, can only make it harder for girls to hold onto a true image of themselves.

Male Sports Culture

In Friday's plenary session, one speaker described how she used to enjoy the boys in her high school history classes who tried to divert every discussion into sports—until she recognized that the room she allowed to these boys was at the expense of the quiet girls in the back row who were really interested in history. Peggy Orenstein describes other teachers and herself giving in to the demands of boys who disrupt class to get attention, while disruptive girls are punished more harshly and seen as “containable.”⁸ Our culture sets us up to do this.

I have two points to make about our society's fondness for the male sports culture: First, women have been hurt, and continue to be hurt, by some aspects of that culture. Second, women are, I believe, capable of adopting some of the negative aspects of that culture, and it is time to examine our cultural values and set the limits for acceptable behavior for all our athletes.

a) The dominant aspect of our culture tells male “jocks” that they *cannot* violate our basic social norms because, at least in the short term, because they set our most basic norms. Other students as well as teachers and administrators vie for the approval of these special ones, and if there is

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one social skill many of these athletes have, it is how to manipulate those others who want their approval. What these young men do is how our culture defines charm.

Young women thus may find it hard to compete for attention in class, but there are even more direct ways that this culture can harm and diminish them. As *Sports Illustrated* points out,

Researchers disagree over whether the force and aggressiveness required to succeed in some sports nurture a tendency toward the abuse of those who are weaker. But there isn't any argument that athletes form a special, distinct and often protected class of adolescents and young men in high school and college and that some of these men think their status entitles them to do whatever they want to women.⁸

Historically, girls' exclusion from the center of this sports culture, especially from shared activity in the sports themselves, along with "coaching practices which quarantine boys from the 'feminizing' taint of female influence," has resulted in a gender isolation in which "sexual myths flourish."¹⁰ Though those conditions are changing—with the entry of young women into sports¹¹—sexism and homophobia remain "key bonds to the male peer group" that are extremely hard to repudiate, especially by young men who want to stay in sports.¹²

Numerous studies have found that, "at least among college students, male athletes are more likely than male nonathletes to rape acquaintances and to take part in gang rapes."¹³ Suggested reasons are that: 1) Their elevated status makes them feel entitled to whatever they want, and discourages them from moral reflection about consequences to others; 2) Their elite status puts them above suspicion, and they are used to being assumed innocent of any charge; 3) They come from the particular sports that prize force and aggressiveness—such as "football and basketball. It's never the golfers and swimmers"¹⁴; 4) Since dominating and humiliating women demonstrates their social power, it may be important to have others know about their deeds.¹⁵

Schools are often reluctant to punish male athletes—since "boys will be boys" (at least when they are these boys). Parents may refuse to believe their "high-spirited" sons have done unacceptable things. Even the police can turn a blind eye to crimes committed by jocks.

As an equal rights attorney, I have heard stories of girls as young as seven who get beaten up every day at school by their male age peers, *because* they insist on playing in otherwise-male teams. The beatings are sexualized in surprising ways for boys so young, such as kicking between the girl's legs or trying to pull down her underpants. That these boys believe they have a role in bringing "uppity" girls into line indicates that they are entering the subculture that will condone or encourage them to enforce our most anti-woman cultural norms.

With surprising frequency, *Sports Illustrated* exposes and criticizes this sports culture.

- "Sports' Dirty Secret" detailed recent reports of domestic violence by a number of professional athletes, and attempted to generalize as to their cause.¹⁶ One study found that male athletes at 10 Division I school made up 3.3% of their male student bodies but were involved in 19.0% of the reported sexual assaults on the campuses.¹⁷ After describing one coach who painted vaginas on tackling dummies, and another who put a sanitary napkin in the locker of a player he wanted to insult, the article suggests that "such attitudes both denigrate women and ultimately condone and encourage violence against them."¹⁸
- "Crime and Punishment" discussed Richie Parker, a high school basketball star who was refused college scholarships because of a sexual assault he committed on a freshman in the stairwell of their high school.¹⁹ Several people sympathetic to Parker are described, but a powerful section of the story concerns a sports copy editor at *Newsday* who had experienced rape and refused to view Parker's actions as a mistake, like losing one's keys.²⁰
- "The Boys Next Door," on the group of prominent athletes from Glen Ridge High School in New Jersey who crowded around a girl from their school who had an I.Q. of 49 and loved sports, and viciously sexually abused her.²¹ *SI* lays the blame for the assault squarely on the boys involved. But it lays the blame for creating this group of young men who perceived no limits on their abuse of others, squarely on the school administrators, teachers, parents, other students—and local police—who let them get away with crime after crime before this sexual assault.²² The article goes on to state that "experts who studied the case reached ... the ... conclusion: that what happened in Glen Ridge wasn't exceptional at all."²³

By middle school, most of the boys and their admirers "lived in a hermetic all-male world of teams and friends and brothers and fathers,"²⁴ and any girl who resisted the role of being decorative and pleasing was just **"one more opponent to be bullied into submission."**²⁵

The victims of such male elite subgroups will obviously include traditional easy victims—nerds, wimps, lesbians and gays, students from other ethnic and racial subgroups, or those with physical or intellectual differences defined by the dominant culture as deficiencies or disabilities. To the extent they target people who reject a social hierarchy that puts male jocks at the pinnacle and defines females as decorative, women athletes are also an obvious target.

b) In addition to my fears for all of the young women who may be victims of this male sports culture, I am also concerned that the new female sports achievers may adopt some of the negative characteristics of this culture. We are so tolerant of the aggressive, "high spirited" behavior of young male athletes that it is hard to imagine our high spirited young women accepting unequal treatment in this regard. And they *should* no longer be treated unequally. We must develop and enforce social norms of behavior, on and off the playing field, that apply to all.

I am convinced that girls raised to the same praise and expectations as boys will develop many of the qualities attributed to participation in sports—perhaps modified to the extent that girls receive mixed messages. (I have read of a women's college basketball team that dressed up in Playboy bunny outfits to demonstrate that they were still "feminine.")

Women can also do macho—for example, by continuing to play despite injuries. Rebecca Lobo, now of the WNBA's New York Liberty team, scored 13 points with a broken finger while at the University of Connecticut, and was rewarded by an appreciative crowd.²⁶ Lobo "may be the most popular athlete" in Connecticut, according to *Sports Illustrated*.²⁷

An enduring image of the 1996 Olympics is gymnast Kerri Strug being carried off the mat by her coach, Bela Karolyi, after exquisitely finishing her final event despite a leg injury. As far back as 1983, when one of Karolyi's proteges, Mary Lou Retton, broke a small bone in her wrist, a trainer got her to keep ice on her wrist when she refused to rest. "Moments later Bela Karolyi came by and kicked the ice bag off Retton's arm. 'It tears you up after a while to see how these girls are treated,'" stated the trainer.²⁸ Olympic medalist Bart Conner implied Karolyi's critics were hypocrites: "If we want a team that looks nice in their uniforms, that isn't under all this stress, that isn't playing with pain, that isn't risking injury, then we're not going to win."²⁹

Gymnastics is one of the traditional or "feminine" sports, which combine a total focus on training with a drive to eliminate all body fat. Ironically, it is in sports such as these (as with ballet) that women forego menstruation and natural body development—though one wonders why male gymnasts are not kept to the physical standards of 12-year-olds.

Young women are praised by coaches and the sports press when they push themselves hard—perhaps harder than they should. A college basketball player who refused to comply with prescribed rehabilitation for her serious knee injury so she could return to play more quickly said, "It's been kind of fun to see how tough I am."³⁰ Going one step further, are women willing to injure others? Rugby is one of the fastest growing women's sports at the intermural level, even

though it is also one of the physically roughest sports. Playing rugby requires recognition that some injuries are inevitable.¹¹

We may not have enough information to know what the long-term effects will be on amateurs and professionals—not just of simple sports participation, but of involvement in competitive sports when our culture emphasizes winning as much as it does. It is possible we do not have sufficient information because the individual sports associations that are charged with taking care of the athletes can ignore their needs in the interest of promoting the sports themselves.¹² Professional football players die at an average age of 56—15 years younger than the average U.S. male.¹³ We should not dismiss the effects of strenuous sports training as trivial.

Can young women gain physical strength and agility, and enjoy asserting themselves in competition, without going on to adopt the negative attributes that our society cherishes in boys: a desire to win at any cost, and an elitism that affects their behavior off the playing field? Females move into males' roles in our society much easier than males move into ours—a logical situation, given the higher prestige of male roles. Do I fear that athletic girls could form scary cliques of elites who psychologically and physically torment others? Well, I refuse to say it could not happen. But I argue here for a re-evaluation of our sports values at this crucial juncture—not in the name of preserving a "femininity" that made women suppress so much about themselves, but to save and universalize healthy standards for all of our youth. It must be made unacceptable to damage oneself or others in the name of sport, whether on the playing field or off of it.

Commercialism of Women's Sports

The commercialization of female sports has a number of effects on the image and self-image of young women—whether athletes or not. Commercial interests can silence women in a variety of ways, or induce them to deny essential parts of their true selves. It would be a terrible irony if young women succumbed to such limitations on their free expression, at the time when they should finally be coming into their own.

The watershed event in the recognition by commercial interests of the potential for women's sports was the 1994 Winter Olympics, where the women's technical ice-skating program "was the fourth most-watched event in U.S. television history."¹⁴ A marketing magazine concluded, "Where this kind of audience—read younger women—goes, advertisers, marketers and broadcast executives follow."¹⁵ *USA Today* points out that "Marketers now recognize that women control or influence

about \$2 trillion of the \$3 trillion consumers spend annually in the U.S. And young women are flocking to sports."³⁶ But how do advertisers treat sportswomen?

Nike's ads aimed at women can differ markedly from those aimed at men. An "empathy" campaign included the powerful print and television ad, identified only by the swoosh symbol, of a very young girl sitting in a swing, which read: "IF YOU LET ME [swoosh] PLAY / I will like myself more / I will have more self-confidence / I will suffer less depression / I will be 60% less likely to get breast cancer / I will be more likely to leave a man who beats me / I will be less likely to get pregnant before I want to / I will learn what it means to be strong / If you let me play sports." The ad is positive mainly because it promises a safe haven from all of the really terrible things that parents worry about happening to their daughters—they must have run out the door to buy Nikes for their girls. (Nike ran a very moving tribute to Jackie Robinson during the April, 1997 PGA Masters—Tiger Woods' first professional tournament—again with no reference to sneakers or to Nike, and identified only by the swoosh.)

In stark contrast, another Nike ad shows big, white, aggressive-looking, Chris Mullin tying up his sneakers, in a stark locker room. Looking like it was rubber-stamped onto the page with the first word in red, the text reads: "WARNING: MAY LEAD TO AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOR"³⁷ Obviously not an "empathy" ad, this presentation evokes the concerns discussed above about the characteristics promoted by the male sports culture.³⁸

Product endorsements can mean far more financially than salaries and prizes to those who receive them. They are offered to the top players—or to those who are attractive to advertisers by some other measure. Endorsements heighten the distinctions between the high-income players and the rest, as well as between male and female athletes. Nike and Titelist together paid Tiger Woods \$60,000,000 for endorsements while he was still an amateur; but Nike offered only \$5,000 to Laura Davies—the 1996 LPGA Player of the Year—to wear Nike shoes.³⁹

Nike did sign up a female golfer: it gave \$1.5 million to Kelli Kuehne, a 19-year-old who failed to even qualify for the LPGA tour this year.⁴⁰ Thus, decisions about who is offered endorsement deals can echo old stereotypes, with a lesser athlete chosen for her looks. Lisa Leslie of the WNBA Los Angeles Sparks and a member of the 1996 Olympics Women's Basketball Dreamteam—a genuine star by any measure—is managed by a company whose CEO stated "We have a chance to create in Lisa a real symbol women can look up to."⁴¹

Stardom—celebrity rather than achievement—is being consciously molded. The emphasis in “role model” is shifting to the second word: instead of a person who opens new horizons of *achievement* and who young women will strive to emulate, a role model becomes someone whose *image* they are urged to recreate—by purchasing the endorsed products.

Ad campaigns have enormous positive power for the image and self-image of women—but our culture’s images are still extremely mixed for young women. Powerful new images of strong sportswomen run in *Sports Illustrated*, for example, just a few pages away from ads for *SI*’s own swimsuit issue and calendar. The old messages about being skinny and beautiful and passive are still out there, as is the idea that females should make other people feel good about themselves, without asking why nobody is working at making *them* feel good.

Another aspect of commercialization that arouses concern is whether young women without other dreams will play hard, take chances, sustain injuries or just not make the grade—and be discarded, as has happened to huge numbers of young men.⁴² Along the way, a promising or successful athlete can lose control of her own life, as trainers, parents, managers, and sponsors decide when she practices, what she eats, and how she is presented to the media. One track star said, “They turned me into some kind of circus animal.”⁴³

The often explicit silencing of athletes by their sponsors when a controversy arises is particularly absurd, given that, in sports, what passes for controversy is often just the question of whether there are lesbians around.

These several ways in which the commercialism of sports can drain and weaken young women’s self-image can be seen in male sports as well, although since females start off at a disadvantage—at least beginning with puberty—the impact is that much more debilitating.

Many women had no grasp of the potential of Title IX when it was passed 25 years ago, and most especially of the tremendous flowering of young women’s potential in sports. While I have tried to point out the cultural and commercial landmines in the sports arena, I remain convinced that the young women who learn to shape and defend their space on the playing field will maintain or develop the resources to defend the space they take up in other spheres of life.

Endnotes

1. Bruce Horowitz, "Big-league Advertisers Line Up to Sponsor Women's Sports," *USA Today*, June 20, 1997, at 1B.
2. *Reviving Ophelia: Saving the Selves of Adolescent Girls*, Ballantine Books, 1994, at 267.
3. *Id.*, e.g. at 30.
4. Donna Lopiano, Executive Director of the Women's Sports Foundation, states that "It is no accident that 80 percent of the female executives in Fortune 500 companies identify themselves as having been 'tomboys' or sportswomen," in her foreword to Anne Janette Johnson, *Grest Women in Sports* (Visible Ink Press, 1996), at xxi. Lopiano is also quoted as saying that "Boys grow up learning what it is to be a member of a team. That prepares them for work in the corporate world. Girls don't get that opportunity and as women they don't understand what it is to be part of a team. We want parents to realize the tremendous disadvantage to their daughters who don't play sports." *Id.* at 308.
5. Sears argued that it should be allowed to discriminate against women who wanted to sell expensive, high-commission appliances such as refrigerators, based partly on a 20-question "Vigor" test used to screen candidates for such jobs. Three questions asked about participation in hunting, wrestling, and boxing; another was, "Do you have a low-pitched voice?" *EEOC v. Sears*, 628 F.Supp. 1264 (N.D.Ill. 1986), *aff'd*, 839 F.2d 302 (7th Cir. 1988).
6. Bernard Lefkowitz, "The Boys Next Door," *Sports Illustrated*, Vol. 86, No. 25, pp. 77-100, at 98.
7. For a review of the bimbo image in advertising, see Mariah Burton Nelson, *The Stronger Women Get, the More Men Love Football* (Harcourt Brace & Company, 1994), especially Chapter 9.
8. *SchoolGirls: Young Women, Self-Esteem, and the Confidence Gap*, written in association with the American Association of University Women, Anchor Press, 1994, at 16-17.
9. Lefkowitz, *supra* n.6, at 98.
10. Michael A. Messner and Donald F. Sabo, *Sex, Violence & Power in Sports: Rethinking Masculinity*, The Crossing Press, 1994, at 39.
11. *Id.* at 40.
12. *Id.* at 50; Lefkowitz, *supra* n.6, cites additional studies.
13. Messner & Sabo, *supra* n.10, at 33-34 and 50-51.
14. Lefkowitz, *supra* n.6, at 98, quoting Bernice Sandler, an authority on date rape.
15. *Id.* at 93.
16. William Nack and Lester Munson, Vol. 83, No. 5, July 1995, at 62-74, followed by a Point After column by Gerry Callahan, "The Worst Kind of Coward," at 76.
17. *Id.* at 68. Todd Crosset, author of that study and a former college athlete, summarized the prevailing attitude as follows: "Part of the male athlete's subworld is *not* to be a woman. Women are degraded. You don't want to be skirt-of-the-week. You don't want to be a wimp, a sissy. To be a man is *not* to be a woman. Women are not to be respected. Women are despised."
18. *Id.*
19. Gary Smith, *Sports Illustrated*, June 24, 1996, Vol. 84, No. 25, at 66-86.
20. *Id.* at 71-72.
21. Lefkowitz, *supra* n. 6, at 76-100.
22. *Id.* at 96. Forty or more people apparently knew of the incident before it was reported to the police, three weeks after it occurred.
23. *Id.* at 97. Only 4 boys were tried. One was put on probation; the others remained out of jail for 8 years during appeal of their conviction. At sentencing on June 30, 1997, 2 of them received 15-year sentences, with the possibility of getting out of prison in 2 years. A third was given 7 years, and could get out in 1 year. New York Channel 4 News at 11, June 30, 1997.
24. *Id.* at 83.
25. *Id.* at 98 (emphasis added).

26. Tim Crothers, "Inside College Basketball: Huskymania," *Sports Illustrated*, Jan. 23, 1995 (no page number in original).
27. Kelli Anderson, "The Women's Top Ten," November 28, 1994, at 81.
28. Joan Ryan, *Little Girls in Pretty Boxes: The Making and Breaking of Elite Gymnasts and Figure Skaters*, Warner Books, 1995, at 27.
29. *Id.* at 204.
30. Jack McCallum, "Out of Joint," *Sports Illustrated*, February 13, 1995, at 48.
31. Jere Longman, "As Parents Squirm, Women Happily Scrum," *New York Times*, May 8, 1995, at A1, C4.
32. *Id.* at 42-43, 187.
33. Messner & Sabo, *supra* n. 10, at 95. More than half of athletes polled every two years since 1982 have said that they would take a performance-enhancing drug that would assure victory for five years without their being caught, but at that point would kill them. Michael Bamberger and Don Yaeger, "Over the Edge," *Sports Illustrated*, April 14, 1997, at 62.
34. Brooke Grabarek, "Ladies, Don't Touch That Dial," *Financial World*, Feb. 14, 1995, at 99 (emphasis added).
35. *Id.*
36. Horovitz, *supra*, n. 1.
37. *Sports Illustrated*, July 31, 1995, at 31. The ad also contains the word NIKE above the swoosh, in the upper right corner.
38. If Nike is actually aiming conflicting messages toward different sides of our society's sexual and racial divides, then the ides of "culture wars"—exacerbated by commercial interests—takes on a whole new dimension. Consider Mariah Burton Nelson's comment: "Legend has it that Nike insiders once dubbed a shoe 'The Vagina' because it 'looked like hell but felt good once you got inside.'" Nelson, *supra*, n. 7, at 223.
39. Teri Thompson, "The Superstar Nobody Knows," *Golf World*, Jan. 17, 1997, at 57-58. One question our society should ask is whether such sums should be spent in any case by a company that pays as little as 20 cents an hour to employees who manufacture its shoes—according to "48 Hours," CBS, Oct. 17, 1996. Nike has just signed a voluntary agreement with the Clinton Administration that it will not hire employees aged 13 or younger in other countries. Is this is enough to stop calling Nike the company that makes "shoes by kids for kids"?
40. *Id.* See *Women/Sport*, Spring 1997 (the test issue from *Sports Illustrated*), at 21.
41. "Queen of the Boards," *TV Guide*, June 7, 1997, at 49.
42. Messner & Sabo, *supra*, n. 10, at 155-56.
43. Johnson, *supra* n.4, at xvii. See also Ryan, *supra*, n. 31, throughout.

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The Impact of Title IX on Mixed-Gender Teams

Joanne G. Gurley



Introduction

What is the value of sports in education? Is it an appropriate use of taxpayer funds to spend any money on sports programs?

Today, most high schools have accepted the policy that students may derive many benefits from participating in sports. In addition to the physical fitness and health benefits, sports may help develop beneficial psychological traits and skills, such as:

self esteem	assertiveness	self respect
self discipline	leadership skills	respect for others
self confidence	teamwork skills	perseverance

The purpose of this paper is to focus on the impact Title IX has had on high school athletics in general and mixed gender teams in particular. Research included a survey sent to all fifty State High School Athletic Associations (plus Washington, D.C.) requesting information on this topic. Several of these associations responded to this survey and provided helpful information. In addition to the rules of these associations, one must also look to case law, state codes and state regulations to help explain the impact of Title IX.

Pre-1972 Policy

Most of the responses to the survey indicate that prior to the existence of Title IX in 1972, either the associations did not have a policy regarding girls' athletic opportunities or there was no writ-

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ten documentation of a policy. The District of Columbia Interscholastic Athletic Association's response may provide an insight to the lack of information on this matter.

"There was no policy on this issue prior to the passage of Title IX in 1972. Girls' athletics did not exist; except for intramural program(s) in local schools."¹

The 1971 Missouri High School Activities Association Handbook illustrated the philosophy that girls' athletic programs could consist of intramural programs involving "sports days" and "play days". In regards to mixed-gender teams, it stated:

"Girls (were) not permitted to compete in individual competition against boys."²

Title IX

A. The Statute

"No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participating in, be denied the benefits of or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving federal financial assistance."³

This law went into effect on June 23, 1972, but twenty-five years later, courts are still trying to define its meaning. "Education programs" or "activities" clearly included athletics.

The legal definition of "recipient" has evolved. Today, The Office of Civil Rights within the Department of Education oversees Title IX and it has defined "recipient" as follows:

"Any state or political subdivision thereof, or any...public or private agency, institution or organization ... to whom federal financial assistance is extended directly or through another recipient and which operates an education program or activity which receives or benefits from such assistance ..."⁴

B. Regulations and Policy Interpretation

Pursuant to Title IX, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) promulgated Regulations in 1975⁵ and a Policy Interpretation in 1979.⁶

HEW set forth three major areas of concern:

- a. financial aid scholarships
- b. benefits, opportunities and treatment
- c. athletic participation opportunities

C. The Manual

In 1990, OCR released the Title IX Athletic Investigator's Manual⁷. Although it lacks the force of a statute or even a regulation, it is used by OCR's investigators. Accordingly, it gives guidance to schools in regards to compliance with Title IX.

D. Remedies

Originally, the remedy for a Title IX violation was to be a withdrawal of federal funds. In reality, if OCR finds a violation, it works with the institution to create a plan for compliance. Case law has evolved and today an individual has the right to individually sue.⁸ Furthermore, compensatory damages may be awarded for a Title IX violation if intentional discrimination can be established.⁹

Mixed Gender Teams

A. Preface

The issue of a girl wanting to participate on an all-boys' team or a boy wanting to participate on an all-girls' team, may involve legal arguments other than a violation of Title IX. Many states have passed the equivalent of an "Equal Rights Amendment" (ERA) prohibiting discrimination based on sex.¹⁰ On this issue, the argument most frequently advanced is a Federal Fourteenth Amendment denial of equal protection theory. Similar language also exists in various state constitutions. To invoke this theory, the issue of state action must be addressed.

Outside of school, some girls who wanted to play baseball on local Little League teams had to file a lawsuit. The leading case of *National Organization for Women v Little League Baseball, Inc.*,¹¹ did not rely on Title IX. Little League received its federal charter from Congress and its corporate objectives and purposes included: "... to assist ... boys in developing qualities of citizenship, sportsmanship and manhood."¹² Later the charter was amended by deleting reference to any specific sex. This 1974 case held that girls were also entitled to learn the values of "citizenship, sportsmanship and developing character, as are boys."

Likewise, in *Fortin v. Darlington Little League, Inc.*,¹³ the court rejected defendant's argument regarding physical differences between boys and girls. It stated:

"Darlington, moreover, accepts boys of all degrees of physical condition, including handicapped boys."

[Note: A contrary case that held no state action was involved was *Magill v. Avonworth Baseball Conference*.¹⁴]

B. Equal Protection Analysis

If a team is classified as "girls" or "boys", and if a student is denied the right to play on an athletic team solely due to his or her sex, the denial of equal protection argument is often used by itself or in addition to Title IX. The Fourteenth Amendment and comparable state constitution clauses which have been advanced regarding mixed gender teams, have undergone the three-tier analysis set forth by the U.S. Supreme Court.

1. The Rational Basis Test explained in *Royster Guano Co. v. Virginia*¹⁵ states:

"... A classification must be reasonable, not arbitrary, and must rest upon some ground of difference having a fair and substantial relation to the object of the legislation, so that all persons in similar circumstances should be treated alike."¹⁶

When a girl wanted to play on a male team, some cases used this Rational Basis Test to strike rules prohibiting such play.¹⁷ Other courts used this test to justify keeping separate but equal teams for boys and girls, thus precluding a girl from participating on a male team.¹⁸

2. The Middle Tier/Heightened Scrutiny Test used in *Craig v. Boren*¹⁹ established a two-part test. First, the classification must advance some important governmental interest, and second, that classification must be related to achieving that governmental interest. Several mixed-gender team cases used this standard.²⁰

3. The Strict Scrutiny Test established in *Frontiero v. Richards*²¹ states:

"[Classifications] based upon sex, like classifications based upon race, alienage, and national origin, are inherently suspect and must therefore be subjected to close judicial scrutiny."²²

This tier has been used in some cases where a state had an Equal Rights Amendment. For example, see *Darrin v. Gould*.²³

C. Title IX Analysis

The Title IX Policy Interpretation and Regulations set forth a specification dealing with "separate teams." Title IX does not require separate teams but a recipient MAY permit separate teams by sex in two circumstances:

1. When selection for a team is based on competitive skill; or
2. If it involves a contact sport (defined as boxing, wrestling, rugby, ice hockey, football, basketball and other sports whose major activity involves bodily contact).

When selecting teams based on competitive skill, there is one exception. If a school offers a team in a particular sport for members of one sex, but no such team for members of the other sex, AND if the athletic opportunities for the excluded sex were previously limited, then members of the excluded sex must be allowed to try out for that team (unless it is a "contact" sport)."

D. Case Law

By 1972, individual state high school athletic associations were setting the rules for the athletic programs in their states. Member institutions created by-laws, rules or regulations. Many state associations prohibited mixed-gender teams, so girls began to challenge the rules in various jurisdictions, invoking the legal theories of denial of equal protection, state ERAs, state laws and Title IX.

1. Females on "Male" Teams.

The following cases are illustrative of the majority of cases which allowed girls to participate on "male" teams:

- *Bednar v. Nebraska School Activities Assn.*, 531 F.2d 922 (8th Cir. 1976)
Cross-country. Mainly decided on equal protection theory.
- *Brenden v. Independent School District 742*, 477 F.2d 1292 (8th Cir. 1973)
Tennis and cross-country. Title IX was mentioned, but the decision was primarily based on an equal protection theory.
- *Carnes v. Tennessee Secondary School Athletic Assn.*, 415 F. Supp. 569 (E.D. Tenn. 1976)
Baseball. Since this was not mentioned as a "contact sport" under Title IX Regulations, the girl could try out for the team.
- *Commonwealth by Pachal v. Pennsylvania Interscholastic Athletic Association* 18 Pa. Commw. Ct. 45, 334 A. 2d 839 (Pa. 1975)
A general challenge to the by-law prohibiting girls from competing or practicing against boys in any athletic contest was successful. The court reasoned that even if separate teams were offered, the most talented girls would not be able to compete at an appropriate level of competition. Looking at the Pennsylvania ERA, it held:

"The existence of certain characteristics to a greater degree in one sex does not justify classification by sex rather than by the particular characteristic." at p. 843.

- *Gilpin v. Kansas State High School Activities Asso.*, 377 F. Supp. 1233 (D. Kan. 1973)
Cross-country. Equal protection theory and 42 U.S.C. §1983

"The question in this case is not whether the plaintiffs have an absolute right to participate in interscholastic athletics, but whether the plaintiff can be denied the benefits of activities provided by the state for male students." at p. 1241.

- *Haas v. South Bend Community School Corp.*, 259 Ind. 515; 289 N.E. 2d 495 (1972)
Golf. Equal protection theory

"Due to the apparent superior level of athletic ability possessed by most males, it will probably be difficult for most females to qualify for the team. However, this factor, by itself, can have no bearing upon the issue of a female's right to the opportunity to qualify. Until girls' programs comparable to those maintained for boys exist, the difference in athletic ability alone is not justification for the rule denying 'mixed participation' in non-contact sports."

- *Hoover v. Meiklejohn*, 430 F. Supp. 164 (D. Colo. 1977)

Soccer. Equal protection theory. The court rejected CHSAA's concern for the health and safety of females. A male of any size and weight could play ball, but a female of any size and weight could not. This court stated:

"But, whether it is algebra or athletics, that which is provided must be open to all ... Any notion that young women are so inherently weak, delicate or physically inadequate that the state must protect them from the folly of participation in vigorous athletics is a cultural anachronism unrelated to reality." p. 169.

- *Israel v. Secondary Schools Activities Commission*, 182 W.Va. 454, 388 S.E. 2d 480 (1989)

Baseball. Equal protection theory. The court found that the games of baseball and softball were not substantially equivalent.

- *Morris v. Michigan State Board of Education*, 472 F.2d 1207 (6th Cir. 1973)

Tennis. Equal protection theory. After the plaintiff won a preliminary injunction, the Michigan Legislature adopted M.C.L.A. 340.379(2). The court stated:

"Female pupils shall be permitted to participate in all non-contact interscholastic athletic activities, including but not limited to archery, badminton, bowling, fencing, golf, gymnastics, riflery, shuffleboard, skiing, swimming, diving, table tennis, track & field, and tennis. Even if the institution does have a girls' team in any non-contact interscholastic athletic activity the female shall be permitted to compete for a position on the boys' team. Nothing in this section shall be construed to prevent or interfere with the selection of competing teams solely on the basis of athletic ability." at p. 1209.

- *Reed v. Nebraska School Activities Asso.*, 341 F Supp. 258 (D. Neb. 1972)

Golf. Equal protection theory. The court stated:

"The issue is not whether Debbie Reed has a 'right' to play golf; the issue is whether she can be treated differently from boys in an activity provided by the state. Her right is not the right to play golf. Her right is the right to be treated the same as boys unless there is a rational basis for her being treated differently." at p. 261.

CONTRARY

Generally, females who challenged the High School Athletic Association Rules barring mixed-gender team participation were successful. A couple of early cases to the contrary are of note. It is questionable whether they would be decided differently today.

- *Bucha v. Illinois High School Asso.*, 351 F Supp. 69 (N.D. Ill. 1972)

Swimming. The court cited physical and psychological differences between male and female athletes. Unrestricted competition between the sexes would lead to male domination and thus a decrease in female participation. The court found a rational basis existed to prohibit competition between boys and girls.

- *Ritacco v. Norwin School District*, 361 F Supp. 930 (W.D. Pa. 1973)

Tennis. The court cited "substantial physiological differences" between males and females and states that there is a rational basis for the purpose of the rule in seeking to enhance sports opportunities for girls.

2. Contact Sports

It appears that in most cases, girls who seek to try out for contact sports have been successful under the equal protection theory, state laws/regulations, and state ERAs. Title IX is generally NOT argued since it allows for separate teams.

- *Adams v. Baker, et al.*, 919 F Supp. 1496 (D. Kan. 1996)

Wrestling. Equal protection theory. Defendants argued their concern for the safety of the plaintiff. Plaintiff presented evidence that over 800 girls competed in wrestling the previous year, and was allowed to try out.

- *Durrin v. Gould*, 85 Wash. 2d 859, 540 P. 2d 882 (Wash. 1975)

Football. The court looked to Washington's ERA and applied the Strict Scrutiny Test to allow the girl to try out. The court stated:

"Boys as well as girls run the risk of physical injury in contact football games. The risk of injury to 'the average boy' is not used as a reason for denying boys the

opportunity to play on the team in interscholastic competition. Moreover, the fact that some boys cannot meet the team requirements is not used as a basis of disqualifying those boys that do not meet such requirements." at p. 876.

- *Force v. Pierce City R-VI School District, et al.*, 570 F Supp. 1020 (W.D. Mo. 1983)

Football. The court stated:

"I do not suggest that there is any such thing as a constitutional 'right to try'. But the idea that one should be allowed to try—to succeed or to fail as one's abilities and fortunes may dictate, but in the process at least to profit by those things which are learned in the trying—is a concept deeply ingrained in our way of thinking; and it should indeed require a 'substantial' justification to deny that privilege to someone simply because she is a female rather than a male. I find no such justification here." at p. 1031.

- *Lantz v. Ambach, et al.*, 620 F Supp. 663 (S.D. N.Y. 1985)

Football. Equal protection theory.

- *Leffel v. Wisconsin Interscholastic Athletic Association*, 444 F Supp. 1117 (E.D. Wis. 1978)

Baseball. Equal protection theory.

- *Saint v. Nebraska School Activities Association*, 684 F Supp. 626 (D. Neb. 1988)

Wrestling. The court rejects NSAA's argument that it is trying to protect the girl. "... nowhere in the rules does the NSAA absolutely prohibit weak male students from wrestling." at p. 629.

- *Yellow Springs Exempted Village School District Bd. of Education v. Ohio High School Athletic Association*, Rev'd, 647 F.2d 651 (6th Cir. 1981)

Basketball. Equal protection theory.

3. Males on "Female" Teams

In general, males seeking to play on female teams have been precluded from doing so based on the theory that they would dominate certain sports due to the physical differences between males and females. Further the affirmative action theory of the Title IX Regulations is usually upheld.

a. Males prohibited.

- *B.C. Board of Education v. Cumberland Regional School District*, 531 A.2d 1059 (N.J. Super. Ct. App. Div. 1987)

Field hockey. Title IX theory. The NJSIAA bylaw that prohibited boys from participating on girls' teams was upheld because its purpose was two-fold:

"(1) the promotion of equal athletic opportunities for females; and
(2) to redress the effects of past discrimination and disparate treatment relating to girls in athletics." at p. 1061."

The court said the boys had ample athletic opportunities and if they were to play, they would dominate the sport.

- *Clark v. Arizona Interscholastic Asso.*, 695 F.2d 1126 (9th Cir. 1982), cert. denied, 464 U.S. 818, 78 L. Ed. 2d 90, 104 S. Ct. 79 (1983)

Volleyball. Equal protection theory. The court stated separation was necessary to promote equal opportunities for females and to redress for past discrimination.

- *Forte v. Board of Education, N. Babylon Union Free School District*, 105 Misc. 2d 36, 431 N.Y.S. 2d 231 (1980)

Volleyball. Plaintiff argued Section 3201(a) of the New York Education Law that:

"No person shall be disqualified from state public and high school athletic teams by reason of that person's sex, except pursuant to regulations promulgated by the state's commissioner of education." at p. 322

If boys were allowed on girls' teams, it could mean the takeover of all-girl teams by boys, thus further reducing overall opportunities for females. The male lost.

- *Kleczek v. Rhode Island Interscholastic League, Inc.*, 768 F. Supp. 951 (D.R.I. 1991)

Field hockey. Title IX and equal protection theory. Male was denied the right to participate.

- *Mulardelis v. Haldane Central School Board, et al.*, 74 A.D. 2d 248, 427 N.Y.S. 2d 458 (1980)

Tennis. Title IX theory. The court stated:

"Thus, precluding male students from becoming members of the girls' tennis team is a discernible and permissible means toward redressing disparate treatment of female students in scholastic athletic programs ... notwithstanding the alleged favorable treatment granted female students herein, the overall athletic opportunities at the appellant's schools for male students still exceeds those afforded their female counterparts." at p. 463.

- *Petrie v. Illinois High School Asso., et al.*, 75 Ill. App. 3d 980, 31 Ill. Dec. 653, 394 N.E. 2d 855 (1979)

Volleyball. Male plaintiff was precluded from playing on his school's only volleyball team, which was restricted to girls. Section 27-1 of the Illinois School Code stated:

"No student shall, solely by reason of that person's sex, be denied equal access to physical education and interscholastic programs ... supported from school district funds." at p. 857

This court looked to physical differences and upheld the separate team concept. Therefore the boy could not play on the girls' team.

- *Rowley v. Colorado High School Activities Asso., et al.*, 863 F.2d 39 (10th Cir. 1988)

The Tenth Circuit upheld the CHSAA rule that prohibited boys from competing on sports teams with girls. The Intermediate Scrutiny Test was applied to keep the boy off the girls' volleyball team.

- b. Males allowed to play on girls' teams.

There are a couple of notable exceptions allowing boys the right to try out for girls' teams.

- *Attorney General v. Massachusetts Interscholastic Athletic Asso.*, 378 Mass. 342, 393 N.E.2d 284 (1979)

The MIAA rule barring all males from participating on girls' sports teams was held invalid. The Massachusetts Supreme Court looked to the Strict Scrutiny Test because of the state's ERA.

- *Gomes v. Rhode Island Interscholastic League*, 469 F. Supp. 659 (D.R.I.) Vacated as moot, 604 F.2d 733 (1st Cir. 1979)

Volleyball. Title IX and equal protection theory. This court concluded that separate teams would be appropriate, but in this case, there was only one team. In addressing "past opportunities" this court looked to the single-sport opportunity for males in volleyball. Since there was prior limited opportunity for males, the court concluded males cannot be excluded from the school's only volleyball team.

Effect of Title IX

A. Case Law

The aforementioned cases, although often decided on equal protection grounds, were often influenced by Title IX.

B. Statutes and Regulations

After Congress passed Title IX, many states passed legislation dealing with sex discrimination in school athletics. Likewise, many state agencies (i.e. state departments of education) promulgated regulations dealing with this.

In addition to the general non-discrimination mandates set forth in various Human Rights Articles of state codes (i.e. Illinois, Maine, New Jersey, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, Washington and West Virginia), several states have inserted Title IX language into their laws by employing a general prohibition on discrimination by sex or through specific legislation concerning mixed-gender teams. General language prohibiting sex discrimination in schools can be found in:

Alaska	ALASKA STAT. § 14.18.010 (1996)
California	CAL. CODE REGS. tit. 5 §4920 (Barclay 1997)
Connecticut	CONN. GEN. STAT. §§ 46(a)-75, 10-15(c) (1994)
D.C.	D.C. CODE ANN. §§ 1-2520, 1-2511 (1996)
Florida	FLA. ADMIN. CODE §6A-19.002 (Harrison 1997) and 6A-19.004, F.A.C. Educational Equity Act: Interscholastic, Intercollegiate, Club, and Intramural Activities.
Hawaii	HAW. REV. STAT. §302A-1001 (1996), and HAW. CONST. ART. X, §1 (Reed Elsevier 1996)
Illinois	ILL. ADMIN. CODE tit. 23, §§200.20 and 200.50 (Barclay 1997)
Indiana	IND. CODE ANN. §20-8.1-2-1 (Burns 1996)
Kentucky	KY. REV. STAT. §344.555 (Michie 1996) Sex Equity in Education
Maine	ME. REV. STAT. §4602 (1996)
Michigan	MICH. COMP. LAWS §§37.2402, 37.2210 (1996)
Minnesota	MINN. STAT. §363.03 (1996)
Nebraska	NEB. REV. STATE. §79-2,116 (Michie 1996) Equal Opportunity in Education
New Jersey	N.J. REV. STAT. §18A:36-20 (1996)
New York	N.Y. EDUC. §3201-a (Lawyers Co-Op. 1996) (Prohibits discrimination by sex for high school athletic teams, except pursuant to rules of the state commissioner of education)
Oregon	OR. REV. STAT. §659.150 (1995)
Pennsylvania	22 PA. CODE §§5.4 and 12.4 (1996)
Washington	WASH. REV. CODE §§28A.640.010, 28A.640.020
Wisconsin	WIS. STAT. §118.13 (1995-1996); WIS. ADMIN. CODE PI 9.01 (1997)

State statutes and administrative code regulations more specifically employing Title IX language include:

Alaska	ALASKA STAT. §4.18.040 (1996) Uses much of the same language of the Title IX Policy Interpretation and Regulations
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California	CAL. CODE. REGS. tit 5, §4921 (Barclay 1997) Separate Teams. This follows Title IX in allowing single-sex teams where selection is based on competitive skill. Also, if only one team is offered in a sport, no team is offered for the other sex and that sex has had a total program previously limited opportunity, members of the excluded sex must be allowed to try out. @ 4922 Equivalent Opportunities uses Title IX language.
Illinois	ILL. ADMIN. CODE tit 23, §200.80 (Barclay 1996) Employs the same language of Title IX. Single-sex teams are permitted for contact sports or if membership is based on competitive skill provided the interests and abilities of each sex are accommodated. For a non-contact sport, and only one team, members of the excluded sex must be allowed to try out if their overall athletic opportunities were previously limited. Contact sports whose major activity involves bodily contact, e.g. basketball, boxing, football, ice hockey, rugby and wrestling.
Maine	ME. REV. STAT. §05-071-004 (1996) Equal Educational Opportunity at 4.11 Athletics. Single-sex teams are allowed if: (1) there is a team for each sex with same sport; (2) the sport is a "contact" sport. If a contact sport is involved, the institution shall provide equal opportunity by sponsoring an appropriate team to accommodate the interests and abilities of the excluded sex.
Massachusetts	MASS. REGS. CODE tit 603 §26. 06 (1996) Access to Equal Educational Opportunity. Extra-curricular activities.
Michigan	MICH. COMP. LAWS tit 15, §380.1289 Participation of female pupils in interscholastic athletic activities. "Female pupils shall be permitted to compete for a position in all interscholastic athletic activities. If a school has a girls' team as an interscholastic athletic activity, a female shall be permitted to compete for a position on any other team for that activity ..."
Minnesota	MINN. STAT. §126.21 (1996) Athletic programs; sex discrimination. Membership on a team can be restricted to one sex if their overall athletic opportunities have been previously limited. If two teams are provided for each sex for the same sport, then the teams shall be provided with substantially equal budgets. Wrestling teams can be limited to one sex regardless of past overall opportunities.
New Jersey	N.J. ADMIN. CODE tit 6, §6:4-1.5 (Lawyers Co-Op 1997) School and Classroom Practices. The athletic programs shall receive equitable treatment (facilities, scheduling, etc.). A school may have separate teams for boys and girls in one or more sports. Single teams must be open competitively to members of both sexes providing the program as a whole provides equal opportunities to

New York	participate in sports at comparable levels of difficulty. N.Y. COMP. CODES R. & REGS. tit. XIII, §135.4 If the school provides only a single team in a specific sport, no one can be excluded solely due to their sex. To participate in mixed competition in certain sports (such as football, wrestling, etc.) a panel (including a school physician and physical education teacher) will determine the fitness of the student to participate. If separate teams exist, females may participate on boys' teams, but a male may not participate on a girls' team. If there is only a girls' team, the school's chief administrator may refuse to allow boys to participate if to do so would adversely affect the opportunity of the females to play.
West Virginia	Title 126 Legislative Rules, Board of Education §126-82-2.1 Policy at 3.4.1. (Cited in 1993 WVa. AG LEXIS 11, 20) If team selection is based on competitive skill, schools must provide separate non-contact sport teams for males and females or a single, non-contact team open to both sexes. Football and wrestling are stated to be contact sports.

C. High School Athletic Associations: Current Policies

Most of the current state high school athletic associations have policies that reveal the impact of Title IX. Several contain either the exact language of Title IX, or make specific reference to Title IX. For example:

Alabama:	"It is the official policy of the Alabama High School Athletic Association that no person, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or subjected to discrimination under any program offered by the AHSAA."²⁵
Alaska:	"The Association will comply with the provisions of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 and all amendments thereto."²⁶

In addressing the issues of separate and mixed-gender teams, many state associations have policies that repeat the language of Title IX Regulations found at 34 C.F.R. 106.41(b), which allows for separate teams if:

1. Team selection is based on competitive skill; or
2. The activity is a "contact" sport (including boxing, wrestling, rugby, ice hockey, football, basketball and other sports the purpose or major activity of which involves bodily contact).

Under the Federal Regulations, there is no requirement that a girl be allowed to participate on a

"contact" sports team. Nonetheless, as previously stated above in the **Case Law** section, girls who have forced this issue have usually prevailed under an equal protection theory rather than a Title IX theory.

1. One Team Only

Several of the HSAA Handbooks state the policy that if a school offers a team in a given sport for one sex only, and the athletic opportunities for the excluded sex have been previously limited, then a person from the excluded sex may try out for the team. In most states, boys are prohibited from participating on any designated "girls" teams.²⁷ A few states will allow boys to participate on "girls" teams if the boys can establish that their overall opportunities in the past were limited.²⁸ South Dakota has imposed a blanket prohibition for all mixed-gender teams: "In all cases, boys may not compete on a girls' team nor may girls compete on a boys' team."²⁹

2. Separate Teams

When a school sponsors both a boys' team and a girls' team for a single sport (for example, basketball) some states mandate that a student may participate only on the team for their respective sex. For example:

Delaware: "If a school sponsors a boys' team and a girls' team in a particular sport, boys shall participate on the boys' teams and girls shall participate on the girls' team."³⁰

3. Coed

Some states have designated teams as "boys," "girls" or "co-ed". Minnesota uses the term "adapted co-ed" and includes in this category the following sports: floor hockey, soccer and softball. Missouri offers sports classified as "boys' offerings," "girls' offerings" and "no specification" (which includes baseball, football, field hockey, gymnastics, water polo and wrestling).

D. Affirmative Action

Title IX Regulations state that a recipient MAY take affirmative action to overcome the effects of past conditions which resulted in limited participation for one sex.³¹ This is actually more of a problem for males at the college level than the high school level. Recent cases where colleges have cut men's sports in order to increase women's athletic opportunities were challenged by men arguing "reverse discrimination" (or denial of equal protection). Generally, the men have lost this argument.³²

What is the future of allowing an affirmative action policy for high school girls' athletics?

Questions arise when looking at California Proposition 209. Title IX Regulations allow for an affirmative action plan, to benefit girls because in the past, they did not receive equal athletic opportunities. Various court decisions have acknowledged that physical differences between males and females would give males an opportunity to take over the girls' teams. Accordingly, fewer opportunities would be available for girls.

E. Girls' Athletic Participation

Title IX has had a substantial impact on girls' athletics over the past twenty-five years. The National Federation of High School Athletic Associations collects information on sports participation and their data reflects that in 1971, 294,015 girls were involved in high school athletics. By 1994, that number increased to 2,240,461.

What has happened to mixed-gender team participation? Statistics gathered from the National Federation of High School Athletic Associations and individual state high school athletic associations reveal the following numbers of girls on boys' teams:

ALASKA	1995-1996	Football	3
		Ice Hockey	42
		Wrestling	56
CALIFORNIA	1995-1996	Football	554
		Wrestling	541
		Baseball	640
CONN.	1995-1996	Football	2
		Wrestling	12
		Ice Hockey	1
		Golf	15
		Soccer	2
N.H.	1995-1996	Football	5
		Wrestling	3
		Ice Hockey	1
		Golf	6

(Also 10 males on spirit teams)

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N.C.	1995-1996	Football	14
		Wrestling	21
OHIO	1995-1996	Ice Hockey	17
		Wrestling	68
		Baseball	196
		Ice Hockey	3
R.I.	1995-1996	Ice Hockey	22
WV	1995-1996	Baseball	9
		Football	3
		Golf	18
		Wrestling	5
WISC.	1995-1996	Baseball	11
		Football	26
		Golf	123
		Ice Hockey	7
		Soccer	461
		Tennis	2
		Track & Field	1
		(Pole vault)	
		Wrestling	30

VI. Conclusion

Further discussion is needed regarding the issue of mixed-gender teams by HSAs and other interested groups. One solution advanced is that for certain sports, a school could offer three teams: one based on competitive skills, one for boys, and one for girls. Most schools would find this prohibitive due to the cost. Or, another option is to have separate teams exist in the same sports (i.e. girls' wrestling and boys' wrestling).

What about the exceptional girl who argues she is not competing at her level when forced to play with a girls' team? For example, a school offers separate basketball teams for boys and girls, but the girl wants the greater challenge of playing on the boys' team.

If girls can participate on boys' teams, is this siphoning off the best female athletes for the boys' programs thus reducing the potential competitive level of the girls' programs? Do we want to have the maximum number of girls participate at their highest potential? The factors to be weighed are the individual female athlete's opportunity to compete at the highest level of competition versus raising the overall competition level of the girls' programs.

There are no clear answers to these questions because of the varying degrees of compliance with the Title IX mandate. As was illustrated, the different states have different constitutions, statutes, case law and HSAA bylaws. Further, individual high schools are at various stages of compliance with Title IX's mandate of equality of opportunity. The issue of mixed-gender teams has not been resolved even though OCR and various courts are attempting to do so.

Endnotes

1. Written response from Allen E. Chin, Director of Athletics, DCPS, Executive Director, DCIAA, dated January 27, 1997.
2. Missouri State High School Activities Association, *Forty-Third Annual Official Handbook*, Bylaw 22, July, 1971.
3. See Endnote 1, *supra*.
4. 34 C.F.R. 106.21 (h).
5. 39 Fed. Reg. 22, 228 (1974) (codified at 45 C.F.R. Part 86) 34 C.F.R. §§106 et seq. (1996).
6. 44 Fed. Reg. 71, 413 et. seq. (codified at 45 C.F.R. Part 86) 34 C.F.R. 106 (1996).
7. Valerie M. Bonnette and Lamar Daniel, Office for Civil Rights, Department of Education, *Title IX Athletic Investigator's Manual* (1990).
8. *Canon v. University of Chicago*, 648 F.2d 1104 (7th Circuit Ill, 1981), cert. denied 460 U.S. 1013.
9. *Franklin v. Gwinnett County Public Schools, et al.*, 112 S. Ct. 1028 (1992).
10. For example, see: ALASKA CONST. Art. I @3 (1996), COLO. CONST. Art. II, Section 29 (1996), WA. CONST. Art. XXI, @ 1 (1996).
11. 127 N.J. Super 522; 318 A. 2d 33 (1974).
12. *Id.* at 39.
13. 514 F. 2d 344 (D. R.I. 1975).
14. 364 F. Supp. 1212 (W.D. Pa. 1973); 497 F. 2d 921 (3rd Circ. 1974) vacated and remanded; 516 F. 2d 1328 (3rd Circ. 1975).
15. 253 U.S. 412 (1920).
16. *Id.* at 415.
17. See *Haas v. South Bend Community School Corp.*, 259 Ind. 515; 289 N.E. 2d 495 (1972).
18. See *Ritacco v. Norwin School District*, 361 F. Supp. 930 (W.D. Pa. 1973).
19. 429 U.S. 190 (1976).
20. For example see *Clark v. Arizona Interscholastic Association*, 695 F. 2d 1126 (9th Cir. 1982) cert. denied, 464 U.S. 818 (1983).
21. 411 U.S. 677 (1973).
22. *Id.* at 682.
23. 85 Wash. 2d 859, 540 P. 2d 882 (1975).

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24. 34 C.F.R. 106.41(b).
25. *Alabama Athletic Association Handbook* 1996-97, p. 13.
26. *Alaska School Activities Association Handbook*, Article 7, p. 24.
27. For example, see Endnote 27, p. 59.
Arkansas Activities Association Handbook 1994-95, p.51.
28. For example, see *Nevada Interscholastic Athletic Association Handbook* 1996-97 pp.101, 102.
29. *South Dakota HSAA Handbook* 1996-97, Chapter 2, Part 2, Section 13.
30. *Delaware Secondary School Athletic Association Handbook*, Rule 34, p. 45.
31. 34 C.F.R. 106.3.
32. For example, see *Kelley v. Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois*, 832 F. Supp. 237 (C.D. Ill. 1993) 35 F.3d 265 (7th Cir. 1994).

Chapter Eight

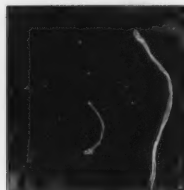
Organizational Perspectives



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Gender and Race Equity in Education and the AAUW Educational Foundation

Marion Kilson



When our first AAUW foremothers assembled in Boston in 1881 to found the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, their “ambitious mission”—Susan Levine writes in *Degrees of Equality*—“was to ensure the value of their degrees, help extend the privilege of higher education to other women, and help educated women fit into a community that would come to recognize their talents and potential.” During the past 116 years, AAUW has evolved as an organization of collegiate women responding over the decades to changing perceptions of women’s social and educational needs. Today our organizational vision, as it is captured in our strategic plan, states:

AAUW is committed to making a significant impact on education and equity for all women and girls. We will remove barriers and develop opportunities to enable women and girls to reach their full potential.

From its inception, AAUW has sponsored research on gender issues and supported women’s educational ambitions through fellowships. The first gender study was an 1882 project seeking to establish that college-educated women were as healthy as their non-collegiate sisters, while the first graduate fellowship was awarded to Ida Street in 1888. More than 7,500 American Fellows, International Fellows, and grant recipients have followed in her footsteps. Today as AAUW’s philanthropic arm, the Educational Foundation supports women’s educational aspirations through a variety of programs—dissertation and postdoctoral fellowships for American women, fellowships for study and research at various post-baccalaureate levels for women from other countries, Eleanor Roosevelt Teacher Fellowships designed to promote gender equity in public schools, especially in math and science curricula, Selected Professions Fellowships awarded to women in

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fields where women's participation has been and continues to be low—a subset of this program targets women of color—and career development grants that facilitate women's re-entry into higher education or career changes. In 1997-98, the Educational Foundation will award more than \$2,700,000 to recipients selected through highly competitive processes by distinguished interdisciplinary panels of scholars and researchers.

In the 1990's not only has the Foundation continued to provide fellowships to women in higher education and community action grants to our members and coalition partners but the Foundation has embarked on an ambitious research agenda aimed at understanding girls' experiences in schools across America. Toward that end, the Foundation has commissioned six major studies of girls' experience in schools. The first three studies focused on problematic issues for school girls: beginning with the AAUW poll published as *Shortchanging Girls, Shortchanging America*, which documented girls' loss of self-esteem as they moved from childhood into adolescence; continuing with *The AAUW Report: How Schools Shortchange Girls*, which made girls part of the current educational reform debate and highlighted the "evaded curriculum," while also identifying the important issue of sexual harassment in schools that became the topic of the third study, *Hostile Hallways: The AAUW Survey on Sexual Harassment in America's Schools*. The second set of commissioned studies has focused on positive school climate issues: *Growing Smart: What's Working for Girls in School* highlighted approaches that foster girls' achievement and healthy development including celebrating girls' strong identity, respecting them as central players, connecting them to caring adults, ensuring their participation and success, and empowering girls to realize their dreams; the second study, *The Influence of School Climate on Gender Differences*, documented how in the eighth grade boys' and girls' achievement baselines are similar, while the qualitative study, *Girls in the Middle: Working to Succeed in School*, looked at successful strategies that middle school girls use in school: speaking out, doing school, and crossing borders.

All of these studies are action-oriented. All offer recommendations for action in various spheres—in the school, in the community, in the family. In addition to the action strategies suggested in specific reports, the Foundation published a marvelously useful document, *Girls Can't: Community Coalitions Resource Manual*, with all sorts of how-to information for creating and working with diverse coalitions.

In reviewing the Educational Foundation research reports in preparation for this plenary, I was struck by how little the educational literature summarized in the *The AAUW Report* and in *Growing Smart* really says about race and gender equity and how broad the racial/ethnic categories are—white, Hispanic, African American—within that small body of research. Given that reality,

the research that will be reported and discussed at this symposium over the next three days has far-reaching importance.

Currently the Foundation Board and staff are in the midst of assessing our work—both our research and our funding programs and beginning to envisage future research directions. Projects that we will undertake in the near future are an update of *The AAUW Report* to appear next spring at the time of the Seneca Falls centenary and a roundtable on research findings regarding single sex education in the fall. Possibilities for inquiry include the evaded school curriculum for girls, girls and technology, and a comparison of young women's experience in high school and the first two years of college.

The Educational Foundation's research studies have helped to place gender equity in the national debate on educational reform. They indicate that pedagogical strategies that are good for girls are also good for boys. They also illuminate how much is yet to be done to ensure gender fairness in our nation's schools. They provide practical suggestions for how we as scholars and activists can work to enhance the educational experiences of our daughters and granddaughters, our nieces and great nieces, as well as our sons and nephews, grandsons and great nephews.

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The Association for Continuing Higher Education's "Leadership Institute": A Model Program

Jan Jackson



Introduction

As a co-sponsor of the third College/University Symposium sponsored by AAUW, the Association for Continuing Higher Education (ACHE) showcased a model program which demonstrated how this professional association has made strides in promoting diversity within its membership. The Association takes great pride in the advances it has made in issues concerning gender and race, and was pleased and honored to be part of this AAUW Symposium.

Background - ACHE

The Association for Continuing Higher Education is an institution-based organization of colleges, universities, and individuals dedicated to the promotion of lifelong learning and excellence in continuing higher education. It encourages professional networks, research, and exchange of information for its members and advocates continuing higher education as a means of enhancing and improving society.

To date, ACHE has a membership of about 1,200, representing nearly 400 colleges and universities in the U.S., Canada, and a few places abroad. By and large, the composition of the membership is continuing education professionals (deans, program directors, conference and distance education professionals, and those who are otherwise "on the front lines" of program development and delivery).

Jan Jackson is past president of the Association for Continuing Higher Education and associate dean of Extended Education, California State University, San Bernardino.

As an organization, ACHE is 58 years old. It was founded in 1939 as the Association of University Evening Colleges (AUEC), since nearly all university-based continuing education happened at night. Those were the days when the field and practice of continuing education was referred to as "night school." Needless to say, all of that has changed since the early days of its development. In 1972, the Association changed its name to the Association for Continuing Higher Education (ACHE) to be more reflective of the breadth and depth of its activities. While the acronym leaves a bit to be desired, the Association's biggest "aches" are those that come from its own growing pains.

ACHE, as with all dynamic organizations, has continued to transform itself since it was founded. It has always been concerned with change and effecting change, both inwardly and outwardly. In the early seventies—as was mentioned—it changed as the market changed and thus, changed its name and focus. ACHE clearly became much stronger because of this change, and in fact, flourished as a professional organization.

In the early eighties, as an organization with a predominantly male leadership board, it weathered a fairly significant "gender storm" and today, as a result, women equally comprise the membership and equally share the leadership roles of the Association. Again, ACHE is definitely stronger because of this.

By the time ACHE entered the nineties, it became increasingly clear that it was still not the perfect organization. It had made great strides in addressing the gender issues inherent in ACHE; it had not done as well on issues of race and diversity.

Background - The Leadership Institute

In 1993, the author had the privilege of serving as the national president of ACHE. She chose as her theme for that year, *A Call to Consciousness: Continuing Education for a Global Perspective*. The challenge to the membership was to reflect upon our practice—not in the context of our own institutions, our communities, regions or states—but in the context of a global village. While some of the programming would be devoted to international programs and the internationalization of curricula and delivery systems, the primary goal of the national meeting was to increase the vision of ACHE's members and their sensitivities to and sensibilities about the powerful role continuing educators can play in promoting world understanding.

Toward this end, the very astute program chair and committee agreed that this might best be achieved by focusing simultaneously on the notion of diversity; indeed, it would be difficult to separate global issues from issues of diversity. Thus, they set about the business of planning the 1993 annual meeting of ACHE to be held in Jackson, Mississippi, and turned their thinking toward a plan for consciously recognizing and promoting diversity within ACHE's membership. With the realization that this could not be done without assistance, the planning group looked to the Kellogg Foundation for help.

The ACHE-Sponsored Leadership Institute

Through the executive vice president of ACHE, the program chair and committee proposed that a special continuing higher education "leadership institute," funded by Kellogg, kick off the annual meeting. The institute would have two aims: to strengthen the leadership role of the historically and predominantly black colleges and universities in this country in providing continuing higher education and lifelong learning to their communities and the constituencies they serve; and to strengthen the ability of all institutions to enroll and adequately serve adult learners of color. The rationale behind the proposal was this:

The historically and predominantly black colleges and universities vary in their interest and ability to provide continuing education, just as do all institutions of higher education. Likewise, their ability to flourish and continue their missions often depends upon their ability to remain fiscally viable and responsive to the demands of a changing workforce in a global village. To continue to provide access to excellent academic programs for the constituencies they have historically served, to attract a continuously diverse population, and to mobilize their entire institutions to serve this new and more diverse population, not as a marginal cash flow operation, but as part of the fabric of the institutions are the challenges they continue to face; as do all colleges and universities.

It is within this context that ACHE wanted to be a catalyst in assisting the historically and predominantly black institutions to extend their historical mission to educate adults and in increasing the capacity of continuing higher education in all its member institutions to reach out to persons of color. As it was stated in the proposal to Kellogg, "We know the involvement of adults of color in higher education is important for the long-term survival of communities of color, for the survival of the United States in the global economy, and for the survival of the nation's democratic institutions."

Thus, it was proposed that ACHE sponsor, as part of its 1993 annual meeting, a two-day leadership institute for continuing educators at historically and predominantly black colleges and universities and for current interested ACHE members. Funding was sought from Kellogg for four activities: (1) a planning grant to develop the institute; (2) a scholarship fund for continuing educators at National Association for Equal Opportunity institutions to attend the institute and the 1993 ACHE annual meeting; (3) a leadership fund to cover the expenses of institute leaders, and (4) a research and evaluation project. Happily, Kellogg liked the idea, and granted ACHE \$33,000 to sponsor the leadership institute in conjunction with its annual meeting.

Outcomes

The outcomes of the institute were significant. The leadership institute was held successfully on the two days preceding the annual meeting, and was attended by 52 participants, representing 28 historically or predominantly black institutions and 11 majority institutions. Of the 52, 30 were newcomers to ACHE, 20 of whom were from historically or predominantly black institutions and were attending the meeting because they had received stipends from the Kellogg grant. Ten attended because of their interest in the theme of the institute, which was *Putting Higher Education in Service to the Underserved: Education for Economic, Community and Human Development*.

In addition to the stipends, each of the 20 historically or predominantly black institutions that participated in the institute were awarded an institutional membership in ACHE, which carries voting rights and the opportunity to influence the future of the Association. This raised the representation of historically or predominantly black institutions in ACHE from 16 to 36, which is 31% of those federally designated as such.

There was a very interesting outcome to the institute which was unexpected by the planning committee. It was anticipated that the institute would attract about 60 participants, of which 20 would be from historically or predominantly black institutions funded through the Kellogg grant, and the remainder would be from the current membership of ACHE. Further, it was anticipated that during the institute the new and seasoned members of the Association would have the opportunity to form professional networks across different types of institutions. In the end, the institute attracted not only the 20 participants funded through Kellogg, but participants from eight other historically and predominantly black institutions. In other words, the institute turned out to be a very effective way to gather new members into ACHE, but did not provide for the linkages to the current ACHE membership that planners had expected would grow out of it.

However, the 52 participants, most of whom were African American and almost 60% of whom were new to ACHE, did form a strong professional network that they carried forward into the ensuing annual meeting and which, they report, informally, they are currently continuing. The challenge that now lies before ACHE is to keep this momentum going and to keep this network merged with the larger ACHE network.

Today and Toward the Future

The work of the Association continues toward the end of recognizing and promoting diversity within and across its membership and activities. During the past year, ACHE has requested additional funds from Kellogg to fund partnerships between historically black institutions and majority institutions who are members of ACHE for the purpose of exchanging professional development expertise as well as retaining the historically black institutions as a part of ACHE. Two partnerships, one between Salem College and Winston Salem State University, and one between the University of Cincinnati and Wilberforce University currently are under consideration for funding by the Kellogg Foundation.

Thus, through its efforts in the areas of gender and race during the past few years, can one really say that the Association has changed? The answer is an unequivocal "yes." The membership of ACHE today is certainly more representative of the larger population in terms of race and gender. Various committees, sub-committees, and task forces focus on related issues. The ACHE Board of Directors and executive body include women and people of color. In fact, three of the Association's last six presidents have been women and, in 1995, ACHE elected its first black president.

Clearly, ACHE recognizes that diversity and issues of diversity are not ever completely addressed by single initiatives such as the leadership institute or partnership programs described herein. The process is ongoing and endless. Only in retrospect did ACHE's 1993 president recognize the importance of the words that prefaced her theme, "A Call to Consciousness" and that perhaps they were more important than the ensuing words, "Continuing Education for a Global Perspective," which were intended to qualify the preface. When we talk about bringing diversity, whether its base is gender, race, or lifestyle, into our institutions, our programs, or our professional organizations, what we are really talking about is being ever cognizant and conscious of the need for change and improvement in this regard, and constantly doing what we can to ensure that diversity is not just a goal or even a guiding principal, but rather is at the very core of our existence—the essence of our being as professionals, as institutions, as organizations. As a profes-

sional association, ACHE has been "called to consciousness" a number of times in its 58 year history and, proudly, it has taken up the challenges to respond, to change, and to grow. Certainly, ACHE looks forward to the new challenges inherent in a new millennium, and to responding to these challenges by helping continuing educators across the globe better realize the powerful role they can play in promoting world understanding.

Wellesley Centers for Women

Susan McGee Bailey



The Wellesley Centers for Women, under the direction of Susan McGee Bailey, was created in July of 1995 to bring together the Center for Research on Women and the Stone Center for Developmental Services and Studies. Thus, the Wellesley Centers for Women builds on the strengths and accomplishments of its two partners by facilitating the development of new research, increasing efficiency, and expanding the Centers' outreach. It also unites the two Centers in a joint mission to educate, inform and expand the ways we think about women in the world. Each Center maintains its own mission, endowment, research projects and research staff, and Board of Overseers. However, the two Centers share a core administrative staff.

Among these core administrative staff functions is the Publications Office which disseminates results of the Centers' work through Working Papers, special reports from individual projects, books, videos and audio tapes. In addition, the Centers communicate news of current work through the semiannual publication of *Research Report* and a Director of External Relations who responds to requests for speakers and works with the media to present new research findings to the public.

The Wellesley Centers for Women also offers conferences, seminars, and colloquia which allow researchers to report on their work in progress and gain valuable feedback from professional colleagues and other interested individuals. Some of these conferences, seminars and colloquia include:

Conference on Gender Equity for Girls and Boys: The annual Gender Equity Conference was launched in 1995 in response to an overwhelming number of requests for talks and information

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following the publication of *The AAUW Report: How Schools Shortchange Girls*, which was written by a research team led by Center Director Dr. Susan McGee Bailey for the American Association of University Women Educational Foundation.

Luncheon Seminar Series: During the academic year the Centers offer a series of informal lunchtime seminars at which the Centers' researchers and Visiting Scholars report on work in progress and receive feedback from colleagues and other interested listeners.

Daughters and Mothers Colloquium: This Colloquium has been an annual event of the Center for Research on Women since 1981. In 1996 the Center for Research on Women collaborated with the Stone Center at Wellesley College and the Boston YWCA to present "Daughters and Mothers in Cultural Contexts." More than 250 women attended the talks and workshops focused on cultural models and multiculturalism in relationships between mothers and daughters.

In addition the Centers also offer a Visiting Scholars Program. Each year the Centers offer several unstipended Visiting Scholar appointments to selected scholars from institutions across the United States and abroad. The appointments represent an opportunity to pursue research and exchange findings and insights with a multidisciplinary group of colleagues. Visiting scholars in turn enrich Center life by sharing new perspectives on issues of concern to women.

Center for Research on Women

The Center for Research on Women, first directed by Carolyn M. Elliott, was founded in 1974 through the collaborative efforts of Wellesley College and the Federation of Organizations for Professional Women in Washington D.C. The original plan for the Center, then called the Center for Research on Women in Higher Education and the Professions, was to establish an institution dedicated to research on issues affecting women and to insure that the research, conducted from the varied perspectives of women, reach and influence public policy. Initial funding came from the Carnegie Corporation.

In keeping with its original name, Center staff initially focused on the intersection between women's paid employment and family responsibilities, and on equal opportunities for women in employment and higher education. However, in the 1980s, in recognition of the complexity of women's lives, the Center's research interests broadened. Questions about the interaction between work and home led to investigations of work-and home-based stresses on women and families. New interest in the entire female lifespan generated a project on adolescent girls'

development as well as research on adult development and aging. And the need for a context in which to understand women's multiple roles led to the exploration of changing male roles and the demands and rewards of fatherhood. In 1980, in recognition of its expanding research interests, the Center's name was permanently changed to the Wellesley College Center for Research on Women. The new decade also saw the end of formal ties with the Federation of Organizations for Professional Women.

Over the years the Center's research has won support from foundations, corporations and government agencies. Additional efforts to insure that the Center had sufficient core funding to carry out its work include the Associates Program. The Associates program is a membership program and is the backbone of the Center's fundraising activities. Through membership, individuals and institutions support the work of the Center by enabling it to invest in new research and innovative projects that outside funders are unready or unable to support.

Researchers come from a variety of backgrounds and include sociologists, psychologists (some with clinical practices in addition to their research), economists, political scientists, gerontologists and curriculum development specialists.

Major initiatives at the Center have included:

The School-Age Child Care Project (SACCPProject): One of the Center's earliest and best-known national efforts was initially funded in 1979 by the Ford Foundation. The SACC Project is moving forward the field of school-age child care in four main areas: research, education and training, consultation and program development. These efforts spawn a multitude of influential projects nationwide, ranging from the SACCPProject's evaluation of the afterschool programs in St. Louis to the SACCPProjects' work with the Utah office of Child Care to develop a community action plan bringing together school officials, businesses, parents, social service providers, and recreation departments to examine what children need outside of school.

The S.E.E.D. Project on Inclusive Curriculum (Seeking Educational Equity and Diversity) was founded in 1987. The project grew out of the Mellon Faculty Development Program, an initiative developed in 1975 to encourage faculty on New England campuses, and later throughout the country, to address women's as well as men's perspectives in curricula and other academic programs and to provide the techniques and materials needed to achieve a more gender-balanced curriculum. The S.E.E.D. Project has established monthly teacher-led seminars where participants meet to discuss how to make K-12 curricula and teaching methods more gender-fair and

multicultural. To date, these seminars have enrolled more than 5,000 educators in over 30 U.S. states and ten other countries.

Research on men and male roles was conducted at the Center in the 1980s and early 1990s. This work included testing new interventions aimed at reducing the major causes of death, injury and disease among young African American and Hispanic boys in poor urban neighborhoods as well as analyses of the National Survey of Adolescent Males and research on paternity and pregnancy among adolescent males.

The Center for Research on Women's work on adolescent girls currently includes projects such as Raising Competent Girls which looks at what competence looks like in different ethnic, cultural and social contexts and what factors contribute to enhancing competence. The Adolescent Sexuality Project examines how urban and suburban girls speak about desire and explores the controversial question, Are girls who have more traditional beliefs and practices about being feminine at higher risk of unintended pregnancy and unhealthy practices in relationships?

Research projects on College women include an evaluation of the Women Involved in Living and Learning (WILL) Program at the University of Richmond and "Pathways for Women in the Sciences" which examines barriers that confront young women in scientific fields.

Today, the Wellesley College Center for Research on Women is the largest center of its kind in the nation and continues to generate the basic knowledge necessary to shape public policy and promote positive social and institutional change.

Stone Center for Developmental Services and Studies

Founded in 1981 with a generous gift from Grace W. and Robert S. Stone the Stone Center for Developmental Services and Studies is dedicated to the prevention of psychological problems, the enhancement of psychological well-being and the search for a more comprehensive understanding of human development. Jean Baker Miller, the first Director of the Stone Center, shaped the Center's continuing focus by insisting that women's experiences are valuable and can provide the starting points for an enlarged vision of psychological development. The mission of the Center is carried out through education, research, community outreach and counseling programs. Particular attention is paid to the experiences of women, children and families across culturally diverse populations.

In 1996, the position of Research Director for the Stone Center was created to collaborate with other staff at the Centers, and Wellesley College faculty and students to promote the health and well-being of women, children, families, and communities and to examine issues of gender and violence. This work continues and amplifies the Stone Center's long-term commitment to the prevention of psychological problems.

Major initiatives at the Center include:

The Jean Baker Miller Training Institute: In response to questions of how clinical professionals could undertake concerted and more formal study of relational and cultural theory, the Jean Baker Miller Training Institute was launched in 1995. The goal of the institute is to provide a period of intense study of relational theory and its application in mental health and other fields. The Institute also provides an opportunity for people to contribute to the further development of relational and cultural theory.

The Reach Out to Schools: Social Competency Program offers relational theory's benefits and carries the Stone Center's prevention mission to elementary schoolchildren and the adults in their school community. Children sit together in a circle twice a week with their teacher who facilitates the discussion, using the year-long 42-lesson Open Circle curriculum. One seat is always left empty a symbol of welcome. The program offers a structured way to learn, discuss, problem solve, and grow in connection with others. It gives students a "toolbox" of skills and strategies for handling their own problems, within and outside of school.

Work on sexual abuse includes a study of the long-term effects of incest on families to learn more about the long-term consequences of incestuous abuse and to document the outcomes of treatment and policies designed to address the problems facing these families and another study on the linkages between child abuse and long-term consequences including such negative outcomes as delinquency, violence and substance abuse as well as resiliency and recovery.

Counseling Services: Counseling Services are the clinical wing of the Stone Center, offering individual and group counseling as well as prevention and outreach programs such as workshops, training sessions, and consultation services to the Wellesley College community. The Counseling Services staff—whose backgrounds include social work, counseling and clinical psychology, and psychiatry—see approximately 400 students each year in situations that include brief therapy, ongoing therapy, group therapy, outreach and crisis intervention. The work of the Counseling Services is guided by relational theory and relies on a multicultural perspective that includes age, class, ethnicity, race, sexual orientation, religion and spirituality.



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1997 AAUW College/University Symposium Program as Presented



* Denotes those who presented, but did not submit a paper for publication in the proceedings.

Thursday, June 19

12:30-2 p.m. Plenary: Gender and Race Equity in Education

Welcome: Linda Freed and Carol Williams, symposium co-chairs
Janice Weinman, AAUW executive director

Speakers: * Beverly Guy-Sheftall, director, Women's Research and Resource Center
Anna Julia Cooper, Professor of Women's Studies, Spelman College
Marion Kilson, programs vice president, AAUW Educational Foundation
and dean, Graduate School, Salem State College
* Peggy McIntosh, associate director, Wellesley College Center for
Research on Women

2:15-3:30 p.m. Concurrent session I

Effecting Progressive Social Change: Why There Can Be No 'Beyond Affirmative Action.'
Vivien Ng, chair, Department of Women's Studies, and Gloria DeSole, senior adviser to the president for affirmative action and employment planning

Open Caucus

Sharing Selves: The Use of Videotaped Interviews as Tools for Exploration and Education About Gender and Race. Dorothy Denburg, dean of the college, Vivian Taylor, associate dean for student affairs, Christina C. Kuan Tsu, assistant dean of studies, and Marjorie Croes Silverman, associate dean of studies, Barnard College

* Colonization and Decolonization of the Mind: Implications for Race and Gender in Tribal Colleges. Marie Smallface-Marule, president, Red Crow Community College

* The Hispanic Outlook in Higher Education: Issues of Concern, Issues of Pride. Mia Anderson, associate editor, Hispanic Outlook in Higher Education

The Make-Believe World of Colorblindness: Not What Our Children Need. Sharon E. Rush, professor of law, University of Florida

One Size Does Not Fit All. Fern Marx, senior research scientist, Wellesley College Center for Research on Women

Taking the Sciences Beyond Affirmative Action: Cultural Impediments to Gender and Racial/Ethnic Inclusion. Leslie S. Jones, doctoral student, School of Teaching and Learning, Ohio State University

The Majority of the Minority: A Survey of Attitudes and Perceptions That African Americans Have About Mathematics. Roslin Growe, department head, Educational Foundations and Leadership, and Patricia W. Beaulieu, assistant professor of mathematics, University of Southwestern Louisiana

3:45-5 p.m. Concurrent session II

A Study of Sexual Harassment of Faculty in Higher Education. Sharon Latkovich, assistant professor, finance and statistics, Ashland University

Sugar and Spice and Everything Nice: Not the Recipe for Success. Phyllis Craig-Taylor, assistant professor of law, University of Florida College of Law

Student Caucus

An Examination of Nursing Students' Perception of Classroom Climate. Teresa Shellenbarger, associate professor of nursing, and Deborah Lucas, student, master's program in nursing, Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Lessons in Identity: A Strategy for Cultural Diversity Learning Among Social Work Students.

Judith S. Lewis, assistant professor, and Elizabeth Torre Reck, associate professor, Tulane University School of Social Work

Higher Education: Some Gaps for Women Close While Others Widen. Susan Fleming, graduate student, and Anthony Golden, professor of psychology, Austin Peay State University

Girls Can and Girls Do: The Academic Success of Girls at a Residential Mathematics and Science Academy. Donna Fleming, associate director of counseling and research, Texas Academy of Mathematics and Science

*** AAUW and Higher Education Focus Group.** Kelvie Comer, dean, College of Education, Health and Human Services, Central Michigan University; and Trudi Schwert, chair, AAUW College/University Relations Committee

7-9 p.m. * Plenary: Co-sponsors' Work on the Intersection of Race and Gender

Moderator: Kelvie C. Comer, dean, College of Education, Health and Human Services, Central Michigan University

Speakers: Constance M. Carroll, American Association of Women in Community and Junior Colleges and president, San Diego Mesa College
Marie Smallface-Marule, Tribal College: Journal of American Indian Higher Education and president, Red Crow Community College
Francine Martinez, National Association for Women in Education and vice president for student affairs, California State University-San Marcos
Stephanie Moore, city coordinator for Girls Incorporated, Urban Girls Los Angeles
Carrie Robinson, director, Office of Teacher Internships, Jersey City State College
Paula Rothenberg, director, New Jersey Project

Friday, June 20

8-9:15 a.m.

Workshop session I

Combating Prejudice in Our Campus Communities. Debra J. Stogel, Western states director, Marketing, Sales, and Training, A World of Difference Institute, Anti-Defamation League

Lesbian/Bisexual Women's Caucus

* **Welcome to AAUW.** Mary-Ellen Kirkbride, AAUW membership director; Dianne McKay, president, New Jersey AAUW; Yasemin Washington, AAUW branch relations associate; Nancy Eynon Lark, associate director for programs, AAUW Educational Foundation; and April Osajima, AAUW senior program associate

* **Perspectives From the National Association for Women in Education: Advancing Women in Higher Education.** Lynn M. Gangone, executive director, National Association for Women in Education; and Francine Martinez, vice president for student affairs, California State University-San Marcos

The Gender and Racial Influences of the Child Behavior Checklist. Sharon Latkovich, assistant professor of finance and statistics, Ashland University

Pre-Service Teacher Attitudes and Knowledge of Gender-Equitable Teaching Methods. Sherrill Evenson Pryor, assistant professor, School of Education, Grand Valley State University

* **Equitable Education: Pennsylvania AAUW's GEM Model.** (a gender equity staff development model for educators) Iris M. Striedieck and Maria Timmerman, educational consultants, Pennsylvania State University

9:30-10:45 a.m.

Workshop session II

Gender Equity In and Out of the Classroom. (workshop designed for faculty and staff in science and engineering) Carolyn C. Thorsen, associate director, Center for Education Integrating Science, Math, and Computing, Georgia Institute of Technology; and Molly Weinburgh, assistant professor, Department of Early Childhood, Georgia State University

Women of Color Caucus

* **Video Cases: A Strategy for Opening the Classroom.** Lee Warren, associate director, Bok Center for Teaching and Learning, Harvard University

Analysis of Senior Exit Examinations to Inform Curriculum Change in an Academic Department. Michael Kidda, associate professor of psychology, Johnson C. Smith University; and Anthony Golden, professor of psychology, Austin Peay State University

* **The Information Highway: Helping Girls Demystify the Virtual Classroom.** Jeanne Dowd, director, video production, Downey Adult School

Gender Difference in Communication Between Men and Women. Lucille Gambardella, professor/chair, Division of Nursing, and Kathleen C. Jacobs, professor/chair, Division of Business, Wesley College

11 a.m.-12:15 p.m. Concurrent session III

Teaching Tomorrow's Workforce in College Today—Student Preparation, Expectation, and Preference for the Affirmative Action Workplace. Susan Eisner, assistant professor of management, and Constance J. Crawford, assistant professor of accounting, Ramapo College of New Jersey

Gender, Race, and Socioeconomic Differences in Attitudes of Students on Affirmative Action. Leonard M. Azonobi, statistical consultant, and Celina Valentina Echols, doctoral student in curriculum/instruction, University of Akron

K-12 Educators Caucus

A Women's Community for Learning: Re-Entry Students in the Community College. Diane Horwitz, professor of sociology, Moraine Valley Community College

Strategies That Enhance the Persistence of Older Female Graduate Students. Nancy D. Hall, doctoral candidate, Graduate School of Education and Human Development, George Washington University

WILL: A Unique Model for Higher Education in the 21st Century. (a comprehensive curricular and co-curricular model for undergraduate women) Fern Marx, senior research scientist, Wellesley College Center for Research on Women; Patricia Harwood, dean, and Holly Blake, coordinator of the WILL Program, Westhampton College, University of Richmond

A Multicultural Model for Developing College Leaders: A Statewide Collaboration. Phyllis Denbo, executive director, College Leadership New Jersey, New Jersey Institute of Technology; Janice Ballou, director, Center for Public Interest Polling, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers-The State University; and Helen Matusow-Ayres, dean of students, Montclair State University

Integrating Gender Equity and Reform in Higher Education. (a three-year collaborative effort with five major universities addressing gender equity in science, math, and engineering) Beth Farokhi, associate to dean, College of Education, Georgia State University; Carolyn C. Thorsen, associate director, Center for Education Integrating Science, Math, and Computing, Georgia Institute of Technology; Molly Weinburgh, assistant professor, Department of Early Childhood, Georgia State University; and Ruby Thompson, professor of English, Clark-Atlanta University

*** Women Managers in Asia: A Case of Malaysia and India.** Manjulika Koshal, professor of management systems, College of Business, Ohio University

12:30-2:30 p.m. * Luncheon and Roundtable: "Publishing By and For Women"

Moderator: Marion Kilson, programs vice president, AAUW Educational Foundation

Speakers: Alice G. Foster, acquisitions editor, Corwin Press
Beverly Guy-Sheftall, founder and editor, Sage
Shirley Lim, editorial board, Feminist Studies

2:45-4 p.m. **Plenary: The Missing Link: Gender, Race, Teachers, and Education Reform**

Speakers: * **Michele Foster**, professor, Center for Educational Studies, Claremont Graduate School
Frances A. Maher, professor and chair, Department of Education, Wheaton College
* **Jill Mattuck Tarule**, dean, College of Education and Social Services, University of Vermont
Mary Kay Tetreault, vice president for academic affairs, California State University-Fullerton

4:15-5:30 p.m. * **Plenary: Discrimination at the University: Student Perspectives**

Speakers: **Sandy Bernard**, AAUW Legal Advocacy Fund president, and
Kathleen Melez, AAUW Legal Advocacy Fund plaintiff

5:45-7 p.m. * **Plenary: Preparing Women for Leadership in Higher Education**

Speakers: **Sandra Featherman**, president, University of New England, and member, AAUW Educational Foundation Board of Directors
Yolanda T. Moses, president, The City College of New York

Saturday, June 21

8-9:15 a.m. **Concurrent session IV**

Failed Multiculturalism and Dreams of a Negotiated Settlement. Randi Kristensen, assistant professor of English, and Helene Lorenz, visiting assistant professor of intercultural studies, St. Lawrence University

Rethinking Identity: Race, Gender, and Queer Theory in the Classroom. Siobán Dillon, doctoral student, English Department, Binghamton University

Double Jeopardy: Gender and Race Interference in the Writing Classroom. Elaine Fredericksen, assistant professor of English, University of Texas at El Paso

* **Ways of Reading: Exploring Gender and Color Politics.** Paul Mahaffey, instructor, Department of English, and Marquita Furness, instructor, family and consumer sciences, University of Montevallo

* **Leadership in Support of Diversity.** Gwendolyn Stevens, director of academic resources, Lucretia Anne Flammang, assistant professor of English, JoAnn Miller, EEO/Civil Rights Officer, U.S. Coast Guard Academy

Messages From Peers, Parents, and the Media That Affect the Academic Performance of Adolescent Girls. Sally Wherry, language arts teacher, Nicollet Junior High School and assistant professor, St. Mary's University of Minnesota

A Legal Standard for Combatting Peer Sexual Harassment in Primary and Secondary Schools. Mary L. Clark, teaching fellow, Georgetown University Law Center

* **Student Organizing for Equity.** Lucy Stringer, Texas AAUW college/university state chair, AAUW district director, East Texas, and director of disability services, Stephen F Austin State University; Abram Gilbert, president, AAUW student affiliate satellite, Stephen F Austin State University; Rebecca Robison-Chandler, vice president for membership, AAUW student affiliate satellite, Stephen F Austin University

9:30-10:45 a.m. Concurrent session V

Multiple Cultures and Perspectives in Teacher Education: A Postmodern Feminist Perspective, Iris M. Striedieck, educational consultant, Pennsylvania State University

AAUW College/University Representative Caucus

The Shattered Lens: Revisioning the End of Monocultures. Helene Lorenz, visiting assistant professor of intercultural studies, St. Lawrence University

Perspectives From the Association for Continuing Higher Education and Wellesley College Center for Research on Women. Jan Jackson, past president, Association for Continuing Higher Education; and Fern Marx, senior research scientist, Wellesley College Center for Research on Women

* **Increasing Participation of Female Middle School Students in Television Production Classes by Using Single-Sex Cooperative Groups.** Helen Zientek, media specialist, Conniston Middle School

Gender Equity in the Classroom: The Effects of Intervention With Teaching Methods. Kristelle E. Miller and Jane E. Maddy, associate professors of psychology, University of Minnesota-Duluth

* **Are We There Yet?: 25 Years After Title IX.** Alicia Hetman, gender equity consultant, California Department of Education

The Impact of Title IX on Mixed Gender Teams in High School Athletics. Joanne G. Gurley, assistant professor, director of legal studies, Lake Erie College

The Culture and Commercialization of Women's and Girls' Sports. Sally Oros, labor and employment attorney

11 a.m.-12:30 p.m. * **Plenary: Future Initiatives for Educational Equity: Academic and Public Policy Perspectives**

Moderator and

Closing Remarks: Florence Bonner, chair and professor, sociology department, Howard University

Speakers:

Vladimir Cerna, president, Associated Students, California State University-Northridge

Margie Kitano, associate dean for faculty development and research, College of Education, San Diego State University

Judy Flakes Nwachie, member, AAUW Public Policy Committee and professor of government, Austin Community College and St. Edward's University

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About AAUW



The American Association of University Women is a national network of 160,000 members, 1,600 branches, and 750 colleges and universities dedicated to tearing down barriers to equality and creating opportunities to help women and girls reach their full potential.

AAUW was founded in 1881 on the conviction that education is key to achieving equity for women. Our first study in 1885 helped open colleges and universities to women by refuting the once-popular notion that higher education threatens women's health. Today, more than a century later, we're still fighting to remove obstacles that hold women back.

While education is our primary focus, AAUW has always spoken out on vital social, economic, and political issues. We condemn all forms of discrimination. We champion gender-fair education, civil rights, family and medical leave, equal pay for equal work, reproductive choice, affirmative action, and access to health care.

If equity is at issue, we're there. Lobbying legislators. Raising money to fund research. Publishing groundbreaking studies. Spearheading community action projects. Launching voter education campaigns. Mentoring women and girls. Working with educators to better engage girls in learning. Awarding fellowships and grants to outstanding women around the globe through the AAUW Educational Foundation. Providing legal support to fight sex discrimination through the AAUW Legal Advocacy Fund.

Join us and make a difference in the lives of women and girls for generations to come.

Membership in AAUW is open to anyone with a bachelor's or higher degree from an accredited college or university. You can join one of more than 1,600 AAUW branches in every state across the country—even workplace branches and on-line branches in cyberspace!—that offer opportunities for grassroots activism. Branch members meet on a regular basis to develop programs that promote equity. Branch members are also part of their state AAUW and the national organization.

Or you can join on the national level as a member-at-large. Undergraduates working toward an associate's or bachelor's degree can be student affiliates.

Receive these additional benefits:

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- Discounts on outstanding publications such as our research reports and *Action Alert*, AAUW's monthly public policy newsletter
- Supplementary health insurance plans
- Financial services
- Membership in the International Federation of University Women
- Discounts on AAUW merchandise, from lapel pins to T-shirts

To learn how you can become a member, call 800/326-AAUW ext. 151. Visit our website, www.aauw.org.

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About AAUW's College/University Relations Program



Colleges and universities can demonstrate commitment to equity by joining AAUW as a college/university (C/U) member. With membership comes valuable resources and leadership development opportunities for faculty, administrators and students. Join 750 other C/U members and enjoy the following benefits and services:

- **Landmark Research.** Review groundbreaking educational research from the AAUW Educational Foundation.
- **Grants and Fellowships.** Receive complete details on eligibility requirements for the more than \$2.7 million in awards distributed annually by the AAUW Educational Foundation.
- **Political Advocacy.** Receive information on important legislative initiatives that impact your campus and students. AAUW monitors legislation and works with policymakers to increase student financial aid, maintain affirmative action, and provide vocational education.
- **Campus Recognition.** Submit your nominations for AAUW awards to outstanding individuals who deserve recognition for their contributions to scholarship and society. Your institution could also be recognized with the AAUW Legal Advocacy Fund's Progress in Equity Award, which rewards a college or university program that has achieved equity for women on campus.
- **Leadership Opportunities.** Take advantage of the opportunity to nominate faculty and students to awards panels, symposia planning committees, and key leadership posts.
- **Symposia Participation.** Showcase your work and discuss original ideas, research, and model programs with colleagues across the country. Registration discounts are available to representatives of member institutions and student affiliates.
- **Invitations to Conventions.** Network with peers and shape the future of our organization at regional meetings and national conventions.
- **A Community Connection.** Build ties with neighboring AAUW branches that offer stimulating programs and activities. We can work with you to establish a student affiliate group on your campus to help tomorrow's graduates develop their networking skills and discover the rewards of community interaction.

- **Free Subscriptions.** Receive free subscriptions to two valuable publications:

AAUW Outlook, an award-winning quarterly magazine that keeps you informed about educational issues, personalities, and the most current research.

Campus Connection, a fact-packed newsletter that updates you on equity issues on campuses nationwide.

- **Member Discounts.** Enjoy members-only discounts on reports, videos, and other materials from AAUW's Gender Equity Library.

Each C/U member institution designates a C/U representative to serve as a liaison with AAUW. C/U representatives act as a conduit of information, sharing AAUW resources with their campus community, informing AAUW about research and model programs promoting gender equity, and identifying obstacles to women's achievement.

To determine whether your campus is already a C/U member, or to request a membership packet, contact AAUW's College/University Relations Office at 202/785-7739 or the AAUW Infoline at 800/326-AAUW ext. 151.

AAUW Equity Library Order Form



Gender and Race on the Campus and in the School: Beyond Affirmative Action Symposium Proceedings

A compilation of papers presented at AAUW's June 1997 college/university symposium in Anaheim, California. Symposium topics include: K-12 curricula and student achievement; positive gender and race awareness in elementary and secondary school; campus climate and multiculturalism; higher education student retention and success; and the nexus of race and gender in higher education curricula and classrooms. 1997.
\$19.95 members/\$21.95 nonmembers.

Girls in the Middle: Working to Succeed in School

Engaging study of middle school girls and the strategies they use to meet the challenges of adolescence. Report links girls' success to school reforms like team teaching and cooperative learning, especially where these are used to address gender issues. 128 pages/1996.
\$12.95 AAUW members /\$14.95 nonmembers.

Girls in the Middle: Working to Succeed in School Video

An absorbing look at girls in three middle schools and the strategies they use to meet challenges in their daily lives. Includes video guide with discussion questions, program resources, and action strategies. VHS format/26 minutes/1996.
\$19.95 AAUW members /\$24.95 nonmembers.

Growing Smart: What's Working for Girls in School Executive Summary and Action Guide

Illustrated summary of academic report identifying themes and approaches that promote girls' achievement and healthy development. Based on review of more than 500 studies and reports. Includes action strategies, program resource list, and firsthand accounts of some program participants. 60 pages/1995.
\$10.95 AAUW members/\$12.95 nonmembers.

Girls Can! Community Coalitions Resource Manual

Comprehensive guide for organizations and individuals seeking to launch and sustain community-based programs for girls. Offers tips for building coalitions, recruiting volunteers, planning projects, raising funds, and gaining media attention. Includes contact information for more than 200 national and grassroots organizations. 167 pages/1996.
\$10.95 AAUW members/\$12.95 nonmembers.

Girls Can! Video

Complement to *Shortchanging Girls, Shortchanging America*. An inspirational look at programs around the country that are making a difference in fighting gender bias in schools. VHS format/16 minutes/1995.
\$19.95 AAUW members/\$24.95 nonmembers.

How Schools Shortchange Girls: The AAUW Report

Marlowe paperback edition, 1995. A startling examination of how girls are disadvantaged in America's schools, grades K-12. Includes recommendations for educators and policymakers as well as concrete strategies for change. 240 pages.
\$11.95 AAUW members/\$12.95 nonmembers.

The AAUW Report Executive Summary

Overview of *How Schools Shortchange Girls* research, with recommendations for educators and policymakers. 8 pages/1992.
\$6.95 AAUW members/\$8.95 nonmembers.

Hostile Hallways: The AAUW Survey on Sexual Harassment in America's Schools

The first national study of sexual harassment in school, based on the experiences of 1,632 students in grades 8 through 11. Gender and ethnic/racial (African American, Hispanic, and white) data breakdowns included. Commissioned by the AAUW Educational Foundation and conducted by Louis Harris and Associates. 28 pages/1993.
\$8.95 AAUW members/\$11.95 nonmembers.

SchoolGirls: Young Women, Self-Esteem, and the Confidence Gap

Doubleday, 1994. Riveting book by journalist Peggy Orenstein in association with AAUW shows how girls in two racially and economically diverse California communities suffer the painful plunge in self-esteem documented in *Shortchanging Girls, Shortchanging America*. 384 pages.
\$18.95 AAUW members/\$21.95 nonmembers.

Shortchanging Girls, Shortchanging America Executive Summary

Summary of the 1991 poll that assesses self-esteem, educational experiences, and career aspirations of girls and boys ages 9-15. Revised edition reviews poll's impact, offers action strategies, and highlights survey results with charts and graphs. 20 pages/1994.
\$8.95 AAUW members/\$11.95 nonmembers.

Shortchanging Girls, Shortchanging America Video

A dramatic look at the inequities girls face in school. Features education experts and public policy leaders, AAUW poll results, and the compelling voices and faces of American girls. VHS format/15 minutes/1991.
\$19.95 AAUW members/\$24.95 nonmembers.

AAUW Issue Briefs

Set of five briefs explores gender equity issues including treatment of students, educator training, the curriculum, college admissions testing, and education and training. 1990-1995.
\$7.95 AAUW members/\$9.95 nonmembers.

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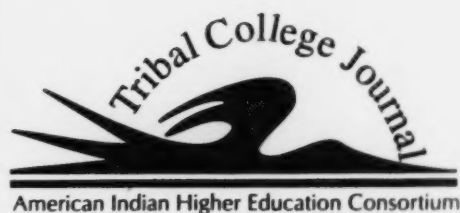
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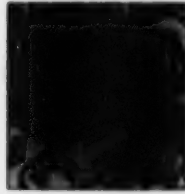
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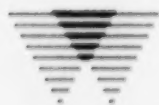


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